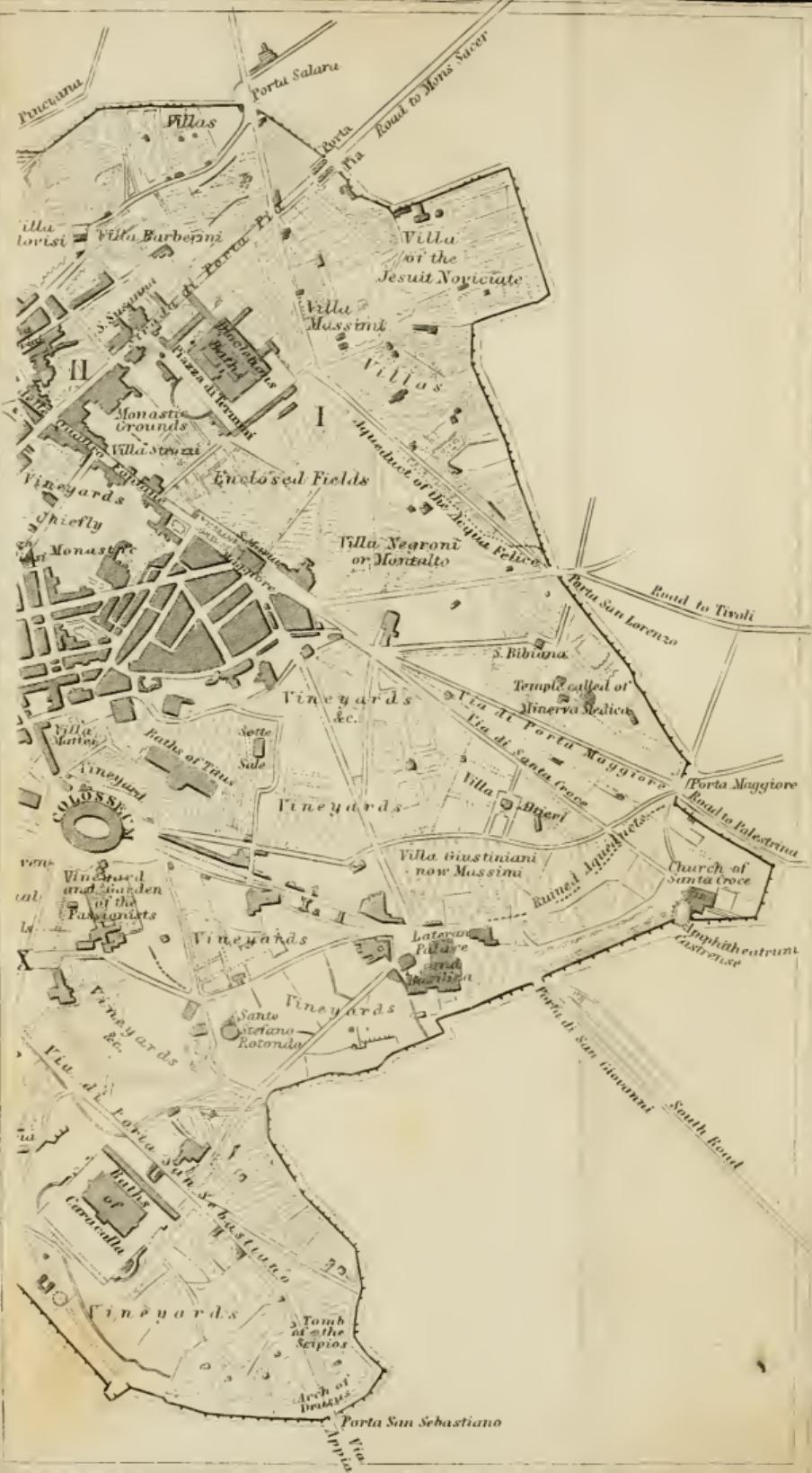


MODERN ROMA

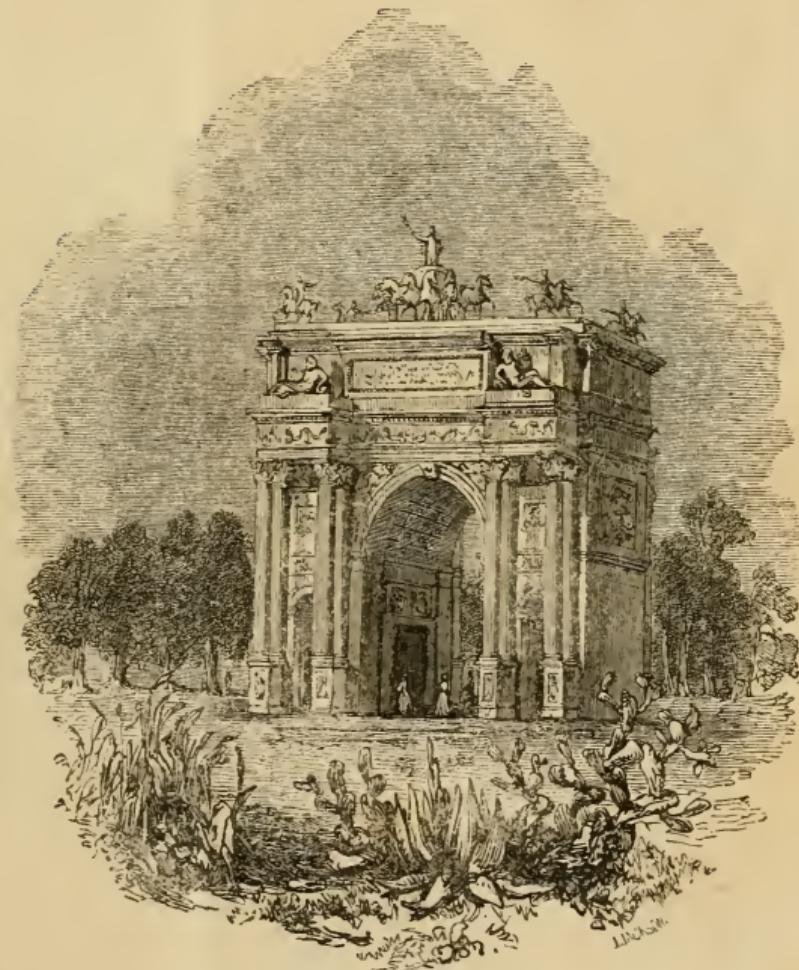


*RIONE OR DISTRICTS OF
MODERN ROME*

- | | |
|------|-----------------------|
| I | de Monti |
| II | de Bresci |
| III | de Colonna |
| IV | de Giangiorgio Merula |
| V | de Pompa |
| VI | de Farnese |
| VII | della Baglioni |
| VIII | de Sant' Eustachio |
| IX | de la Pigna |
| X | de Sangallo |
| XI | de Sant' Angelo |
| XII | de Rota |
| XIII | de Trastevere |
| XIV | de Borgo |



ITALY
AND
THE ITALIAN ISLANDS.
VOL. III.



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF MILAN.

OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.



ITALY AND THE ITALIAN ISLANDS,

FROM

THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By WILLIAM SPALDING, Esq.
Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh.

WITH ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD BY JACKSON, AND ILLUSTRATIVE MAPS
AND PLANS ON STEEL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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ITALY

AND

THE ITALIAN ISLANDS.

PART III. MODERN ITALY.

CHAPTER V.

The History of the Revolution in Italy till the Fall of the French Republic.

A. D. 1789—A. D. 1804.

The French Monarchy and National Convention: 1789—1795:—Politics of the Italian Sovereigns—War in Savoy and Nice—Public Opinion in Italy—*The French Directory: 1795—1799:*—General Buonaparte's Campaign of 1796—Partial Conquest of Italy—Peace—The Cispadane Republic—New Wars—The Fall of Venice—The Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics—The Treaty of Campo-Formio—The Roman Republic—Oppression of Italy—Conquest of Naples in 1799—The Parthenopean Republic—Abdication of the King of Sardinia—Lucca and Tuscany revolutionized—Italy lost by the French—The Fall of Naples—The Massacre and Executions—*The French Consulate of Napoleon Buonaparte: 1800—1804:*—Upper and Middle Italy reconquered—Rome restored to the Pope—The Peace of Luneville—The Kingdom of Etruria—Changes in Lucca and Genoa—Piedmont annexed to France—The Italian Republic—Its Constitution—New Aspect of Society.

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POPPES.
1800. Pius VII. (Gregorio-Barnaba Chiaramonti): possessing the western and south-eastern provinces of the Papal State

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 1790. Ferdinand III., grand duke
 1799. French occupation
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 1801. French occupation

MODENA AND REGGIO.

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1. *Ancient Republics.*

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 1797. Genoa revolutionized, and named The Ligurian Republic
 1798. Venice with most of its provinces given to Austria
 1799. Lucca revolutionized

2. *New Republics.*

- 1796-1797. The Cispadane Republic; comprehending the provinces of Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, Massa-Carrara, Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna
 1797-1802. The Cisalpine Republic; comprehending, (1.) the Cispadane; (2.) Spanish Lombardy; the Venetian provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, and La Polesina; and the Valtelline
 1798-1800. The Roman or Tiberine Republic; comprehending the western and south-eastern provinces of the Papal State
 1799. The Parthenopean Republic; comprehending all the mainland provinces of Naples: destroyed the same year
 1802. The Italian Republic; comprehending the territories of the Cisalpine

PROVINCES ANNEXED TO

FRANCE.

1792. Savoy and Nice
 1798. The principality of Piedmont; not finally annexed till 1802
 1801. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; not formally annexed till 1805

THE point at which we here take up the thread of Italian history, is an epoch more distinctly marked than any that has yet diversified our progress. The fabric of the Roman Empire within the Alps had not fallen till after repeated blows ; the fierce independence of the Middle Ages was transformed by slow degrees into the feebleness and servitude of modern times ; but the eighteenth century closed with a convulsion which suddenly changed the whole constitution of society.

For generous and patriotic spirits in Italy, the era of the French Revolution began with wild dreams of national independence and unity, of political freedom, of character renovated and fame retrieved. Themes proscribed for ages became watchwords on every field of battle ; and hopes which had long been cherished in the inmost silence of the heart, were encouraged by all who strove to master the paradise of Europe. But years of bloodshed, plunder, and oppression, proved how equally insincere were French republicans, Austrian legitimists, and Buonapartist captains. The desolating struggle next made way for a time of partial peace, during which the genius of that wonderful man, who swayed the destinies of the land, was able to make its inhabitants forget, in the midst of statistical prosperity and personal action, their real dependence on a foreign and despotic power. At length, after a dream of twenty years, the Italians awoke at the fall of Napoleon's empire, and saw their thrones again filled by those princes who had sat on them before the tempest began to rage.

But the thrones had lost some of their trappings : and the minds of those who lay once more beneath their shadow, had drawn from the agitation of the times invigorated health, like that which air and exercise impart to bodies wasted by disease and long confinement. Some of the blots which darkened the national character of modern Italy, have not, it is true, been effaced by all her fiery trials ; but much of her most degrading weakness, and not a little of her foulest corruption, are things that now exist in remembrance only.

If the wars which were about to break on the peninsula had been, like those which closed the annals of the middle ages, contests merely between sovereign houses for provinces to be placed under their absolute rule, few Italians would have been likely to deviate from that apathetic indifference with which their ancestors had watched alike the invaders of the fifth century and those of the sixteenth. But this was not, ostensibly at least, the character of the conflict. The French armies crossed the Alps with offers of political liberation ; and the established rulers, though at first unwilling to concede, were at length compelled to promise privileges and redress. All parties appealed to the wishes and interests of the people ; and it is an interesting task to watch the feelings with which the people thus addressed regarded the opening of the mighty drama.

We have already seen reason to conclude, that spontaneous unity of purpose could not have arisen among the several states of Italy, in prosecuting either a violent revolution or a plan for peaceable reform. No two of them laboured under the same necessities ; no two nourished the same wishes ; no two had exactly the same turn of mind : all were as jealous of each other, as bigoted to provincial habits, as capricious in local dislikes, as when republican Milan hated republican Pavia, when Florence enslaved Pisa, or when the Venetians strove to exterminate their rivals the Genoese. But the discordance of opinions and feelings among the different classes of society, in the same province or city, was a fact yet more discouraging. Both the political speculations, and the actual changes, which appeared in Italy during the latter half of the eighteenth century, were distinguished by three characteristic features ; and the same phenomena presented themselves anew at the dawn of the Revolution.

The first was the sweeping nature of the reforms which, since the middle of the century, philosophical men had not only advocated in theory, but been able partially to effect. Towards crowned heads they had shown a manly submission, avoiding all debatable

topics, and nowhere venturing farther than to discuss in the abstract the principles of monarchy, which more than one of them propounded in terms as firmly constitutional as any thing we could find in our own language.* But against the aristocracy the boldest of those thinkers denounced implacable war. Surrounded, especially in the south, by the worst evils of feudalism, they were unable to see any effectual means of redress, except in measures which, if they had been carried into complete operation, must soon have annihilated every thing like a class of nobles. Filangieri, the political apostle of his times, though himself the son of an ancient ducal family, not satisfied with attacking the oppressive seignorial privileges, nor even with preaching the total abolition of entails, obstinately maintained the injustice and inexpedience of the law of primogeniture ; and in Tuscany, as we have already seen, Leopold converted all these doctrines into rules of actual government.

Men were thus prepared to discuss, without either surprise or disfavour, the boldest and most questionable principles adopted by the leaders of the revolution in France. As the abolition of the monarchy had in it nothing that could startle those whose proudest recollections of Italian greatness dwelt upon the history of republics, so the assaults directed by the National Assembly and Convention against the privileged orders,

* “ In a monarchy there can be but one hereditary power, that of the monarch himself. It has been established that a son of the king should succeed to his throne, for avoiding the turmoils of an election, and the disasters of an interregnum. The chance of having an imbecile prince has been preferred to the certainty of occasioning, on the death of the king, a dangerous convulsion in the state. It has never been believed that one man could acquire by birth a right to command other men ; but it has been believed that it is proper to fix the succession to the throne in a particular way, which should not leave any opening for disputes. In one word, it has been appointed that the first-born of the king should be the heir of his crown, as it was appointed once in Persia that he whose horse was the first to neigh should be the head of the nation. This has been the true and primitive origin of hereditary monarchies.”—Filangieri, Scienza della Legislazione, lib. iii. cap. 18. tom. ii. p. 436, ed. Filadelfia, 1819.

may have seemed to them at first to be only a new campaign in the war which they themselves had begun, little foreseeing what must be its inevitable catastrophe. Soon the veil was lifted, and disclosed an unexampled pageant, full of heroic virtues and gigantic crimes,—a spectacle on whose tumult many became afraid to look, but beyond which, to those who had firmness to behold the vision, appeared a state of society absolutely new,—a political world destined either to increased happiness or to fearfully heightened misery, yet assuredly about to be acted upon by forces hitherto undeveloped. This being the case, we must not fail to remark the fact, that a large proportion of the peninsular nobility continued to be firmly attached to the revolutionary party; a circumstance which will be accounted for, according to the opinions of those who canvass it, either by the feebleness of the race or by their patriotic spirit. At all events, the results which flowed from their conduct do not admit of any doubt. On the heads of the emigrant noblesse of France rests not only the worst error of the Revolution, its overturn of the throne, but the guilt of that atrocious bloodshed which dishonoured alike the nation and the cause. To the presence and activity of the Italian nobles is mainly attributable the fact, that, except the massacres of Verona and Naples, hardly any excesses stained the current of events in the peninsula.

The second remarkable circumstance is, that the impulse to reform issued exclusively from the middle and higher classes. The mass of the people, in the rural districts at least, although they suffered more severely than any other order from the prevalent abuses, both ecclesiastical and secular, were like sluggish beasts of burden, not only too little acquainted with their own strength to resist their task-masters, but disposed in their interrupted fits of stubbornness to turn against those who attempted to lighten their load. This blind obstinacy, which had poisoned the happiness of Leopold, and baffled Caraccioli and Tanucci, found but too good an apology

afterwards, amidst the errors committed by the native advocates of freedom, and the misconduct which disgraced their foreign protectors.

The last distinguishing feature of the Italian revolution, and the most disastrous of all, lay in the behaviour of the church. Her ministers had long watched with alarm the rise of a spirit of inquiry, which, though it never produced in that country fruits so bitter as in France, was yet a real rebellion against the principles that had ruled Catholicism since the council of Trent : and they were seized with more selfish fears when they saw the speculators on government attack the privileges of their order, threatening not only to curtail its spiritual prerogatives, but to diminish or apportion anew its temporal possessions. In Italy, as elsewhere, the clergy, with few exceptions, assumed, long before the final outbreak, an attitude of determined hostility to all changes in the institutions of states : and philosophy was thus compelled to enter, single-handed, on a contest in which religion, her natural ally, chose to stand forth as her most inveterate enemy. Even before the Revolution, much evil was occasioned by this false position of the church : after it, the mischief which flowed from that cause was lamentable and infinite. If the Italians furnished few worshippers for the goddess of reason, or few converts to the theosophy of Lepaux, they numbered very many quiet and contemptuous unbelievers : if they never openly disclaimed the faith which had its chief seat among them, they learned both to doubt its doctrines and to distrust its servants, without being able to substitute for them better teachers or a purer creed. It followed as a necessary consequence, that the improvement in the national character, although decided in many important particulars, fell lamentably short of that which would have ensued under holier auspices. The ridicule of the French displaced cicisbeism, and their police suppressed assassination ; but licentiousness, though weakened, was not extirpated ; revenge assumed only other shapes ; and integrity, assailed by the exam-

ple of foreign plunderers, found no religious sanction to strengthen its abhorrence of sin. In the history of the state, again, the influence of the priesthood, exerted in opposition to every change, crippled all the efforts made by the honest and intelligent friends of liberty. Superstition armed, as the accomplices of despotism, all those whose minds, through ignorance, timidity, interested motives, or sincere conviction, remained subject to the ancient directors of conscience : and, especially in Southern Italy, the great champions of absolutism were the powerful body of the priests, aided by many of the nobles and a few from the middle class, and fanatically served by the bigoted peasantry.

THE TIMES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLIES AND NATIONAL CONVENTION IN FRANCE.

The Last Days of the French Monarchy :

A.D. 1789—A.D. 1792.

For the sovereigns of Italy, as well as for the people, the first three years of the revolutionary age formed a time of abortive plans and earnest preparation.

Events of immediate interest cut short two visionary designs, of which, although both must have failed of success, yet either, by the very attempt, might have given another colour to the history of Europe. A few aspiring cardinals, looking back to Gregory the Seventh and Sixtus the Fifth, devised an Italian league, to be headed by the pope : and at the court of Turin, which took example from its own more recent annals, there was planned a campaign against its Austrian neighbours. But Rome was destined to fall a passive victim to foreign aggression ; and the ambitious king of Sardinia became the scapegoat of the prince whose Lombard crown he had wished to transfer to his own brows.*

* Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*, lib. i. tom. i. p. 40; ed. Italia, 1824. Denina, *Istoria della Italia Occidentale*, lib. xviii. cap. 5; tom. v. p. 113; ed. Turin, 1809. Desodoards, *Histoire d'Italie*, livre xxiii. chap. 5, tome viii. p. 180; Paris, 1803.

The Emperor Joseph died in the beginning of the year 1790 ; and Leopold, leaving Tuscany to his second son Ferdinand, received both the hereditary dominions of Austria and the imperial dignity. He extricated himself skilfully from the foreign wars into which his brother had plunged ; but neither the internal discontents of the Low Countries, nor the dangers which threatened Louis the Sixteenth, were evils so easily remedied. He employed his diplomacy in endeavouring, by means of a European Congress, to impose constitutional limitations on all the contending parties in France ; but disappointment in this scheme, and fresh revolts among his own provinces, imbittered every moment of his life. He was tempted to become a leading party in the fatal treaty of Pilnitz, which may be truly said to have destroyed the French monarchy ; and in the spring of 1792, his death, at the age of forty-four, saved him from beholding the calamities which speedily followed. His hereditary states descended to his eldest son Francis, who likewise succeeded him as emperor ; and the policy of the new reign, warlike as well as anti-revolutionary from its very opening, accelerated the contest which soon desolated Europe.

Two other Italian courts, besides those of Lombardy and Tuscany, were deeply interested in the fate of the royal family in Paris. The Queen of Naples was, like Marie-Antoinette, a daughter of Maria-Theresa ; and the two brothers of Louis the Sixteenth were sons-in-law of the King of Sardinia. The advisers of Ferdinand prepared for the struggle by strengthening the artillery and marine, by reconciling themselves with the see of Rome, by imposing extraordinary taxes, and by seizing the money deposited in the national banks ; but to these measures were added others of a different cast, designed for crushing the dreaded strength of public opinion. Arbitrary commissions were organized for trying political offences ; spies were set to watch Cirillo, Pagano, Conforti, Delfico, and other men of liberal views ; foreign books and newspapers were excluded ; and Filangieri's work was burnt

by the hands of the common hangman.* In the other extremity of the peninsula, the Count d'Artois imitated at Turin, on a smaller scale, the court of emigrant nobles which surrounded Monsieur at Coblenz. Simultaneously with that alliance between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, which produced the abortive invasion of France in 1792, there was concluded an Italian league, headed openly by Naples and Rome, and secretly joined by Victor-Amadeus, while the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as well as the Venetians and the Genoese, remained determinedly neutral.

The French Republic under the National Convention :

A. D. 1792—A. D. 1795.

The little cloud which rose over the tennis-court at Versailles, had already overshadowed all the thrones in Europe ; and that of Sardinia was the first on which it discharged its tempest. Where both parties were resolved on war, a pretence was readily found. Semonville, sent to negotiate a passage for the French armies through Piedmont, was reported to have propagated revolutionary doctrines on his way : he was ordered to quit the king's dominions, and a second envoy was refused leave to cross the frontier.

On the 18th of September 1792, the National Assembly declared war against the King of Sardinia ; and an invasion of his states immediately ensued. The Savoyards, discontented and democratic, had no will to fight ; the Piedmontese, ill-officered as well as mutinous, had neither will nor ability ; and within a fortnight Savoy and the county of Nice were in the possession of the French troops. The atrocities, however, which took place at Paris during the autumn of that year, and the execution of the king in the beginning of the next, not only gave fresh vigour to the operations of the allied

* Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, lib. iii. cap. 12; tom. i. pp. 212-215, 235 : ed. Capolago, 1834.

sovereigns, but added new members to their league. In 1793 a British fleet occupied Corsica ; while the Austrians and Piedmontese vainly tried to fight their way against Kellermann through Savoy to Lyons. During the succeeding summer, the republicans, entering Italy with one army by the Alps, and with another through the neutral territory of Genoa, maintained a more energetic campaign, which left them masters of all the passes leading down into Piedmont. At the same time Pasquale Paoli, supported by England, arranged a constitution for Corsica, which acknowledged George III. as its king.

In the course of the year 1795, the alarm produced by the recent successes of the French not only disarmed some of their most active enemies, but gained for them allies in Italy itself, the stronghold of legitimate monarchy. Ferdinand of Tuscany, a cautious or timid man, anxious to preserve the commerce of Leghorn, and seeing no reason why he should sacrifice his people to the ambition or revenge of the greater European courts, was the first crowned head that recognised the new democratic state. In February of this year, he concluded a treaty with France, disclaiming his enforced connexion with the allies, and binding himself to a strict neutrality. Soon afterwards the coalition lost three of its members, Holland, Prussia, and Spain. Within the Alps the war languished ; and the Austrians and Piedmontese were able, till the end of the autumn, to keep the invading armies cooped up in the north-western corner of the peninsula.

Meanwhile that fermentation of men's minds, which had its centre in Paris, was diffusing itself over most of the Italian provinces, among those classes that were predisposed to receive such an impulse.*

Tuscany was the quarter in which the new opinions met with least countenance. Although the grand duke

* Botta, *Storia dal 1789*, lib. ii. iii. tom. i. pp. 80-94, 145-154. Lacretelle, *Histoire de France pendant le Dix-huitième Siècle*, livre xxvii. tome xiii. p. 115-148 : Paris, 1826. Thiers' History of the French Revolution (Shoberl's Translation), vol. iv. p. 378-382.

had been tempted to depart from some of his father's commercial and agricultural laws, his plan of polity remained so far entire that the constitutionalists had really little to complain of. In ecclesiastical matters, however, the priesthood renewed with success those instigations by which many of them long before had crippled the efforts of their bold reformer; and Leopold had not been twelve months at Vienna, when the peasantry clamorously demanded the re-establishment of certain religious fraternities and forms of worship which he had abolished as superstitious and hurtful.* In the eastern provinces of the Papal State there was much silent discontent among all classes; but in Rome itself, although a few men held democratic opinions, the only outbreak that happened was that of January 1793, when Bassville, the French secretary of legation, an active republican agent, was stoned to death by the populace. In Parma, Duke Ferdinand had recently alarmed the thinking part of his subjects by introducing the papal inquisition, and by exhibiting himself, in strong contrast to his early habits, as a religious formalist and devotee. The Duke of Modena was perhaps more unpopular than he deserved to be. In the Republics opinions were greatly divided, though from dissimilar causes. San Marino was a cipher; Lucca was made passive, not only by her own insignificance, but by a general indifference towards change; the Venetians were distracted by two opposite feelings, their fear of Austrian encroachment and their hatred of Parisian democracy; the Genoese, although the revolutionary party was strong among them, not only dreaded the destruction of their commerce, but were personally interested in the French funds.

In the remaining sections of the peninsula, the extreme south and the extreme north, were to be found the most zealous disciples of the revolution. In the kingdom of Naples, both on the mainland and in Sicily, conspiracies were repeatedly discovered, and the plotters

* Memorie per la Vita di Leopoldo, p. 257 : Italia, 1792.

executed, several of them having been previously tortured to enforce a discovery of their accomplices. Even the ministers of state charged each other with treason ; and Acton procured the imprisonment of the Chevalier de' Medici, with several other men high in office. The people, although strong in prejudice, were at this time discontented with the increased taxation, and the renewal of arbitrary interference by the government ; many of the nobles were as eager as the middle classes in their wishes for general amelioration ; and the church herself, whose property the rulers were every day seizing to satisfy the necessities of the exchequer, was not at first able to discover whether republicanism or legitimate monarchy was likely to be her most dangerous enemy.* Throughout Austrian Lombardy the desire of change became almost universal. The people at large were disgusted by public burdens heavily augmented, and by the coarse insolence of the German satellites who exacted them ; those classes which had enjoyed the semblance of political power under the constitution of Maria-Theresa, were provoked by that mixture of military command and absolute foreign rule which, since Leopold's death, had been substituted for it ; and reflecting men perceived, in the attitude which the cabinet of Vienna had now decidedly assumed, no prospect of improvement or relief if the allied sovereigns should be victorious.† Piedmont was a still more favourable soil for republicanism ; and there its principles soon rooted themselves very deeply. On the mainland, more than one conspiracy was discovered and punished ; while the Sardinians, finding themselves treated as rebels when they sent deputies to demand those reforms which they conceived themselves to have merited by their brave resistance to the French fleet, broke out into open revolt,

* Colletta, lib. iii. cap. 2, tom. i. pp. 234, 242-246, 254, 258.
Botta, lib. v. tom. i. p. 293-296.

† Lacretelle, tome xiii. p. 118. Botta, tom. i. pp. 87, 152, 403-409. Memoirs dictated by Napoleon at Saint Helena, 7 vols. London, 1823 : vol. iii. pp. 184, 253.

killed several members of the government, and were with difficulty dissuaded by the viceroy from giving up the island to France.*

Every where, however, amidst this general ebullition, the horrors which long reigned in Paris, and the irreligion which had not only accompanied but survived them, struck a chill into the hearts of all except the veriest fanatics of unbelief or democracy. The conduct of the invaders soon added new causes of hesitation ; for the barbarities and licentiousness practised among the Genoese valleys were widely known and execrated. Altogether, the mind of the nation, though essentially alienated from its established rulers, was in no respect better prepared than it had been before the commencement of the struggle, for prosecuting with energy any contest which should have for its purpose the substitution of French supremacy. Whether such a substitution was likely to advance the real interests of Italy, was a question which no man in those days was qualified to answer fairly : and even we of another age, who look at the revolutionary period from a more commanding station, shall find it wisest not to attempt a solution of the problem until we have surveyed, calmly and minutely, all those eventful years which closed with the ruin of the modern Charlemagne.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC UNDER THE DIRECTORY.

The Campaign of 1796 and its Consequences :

A. D. 1796—A. D. 1798.

The Italians were soon to learn that their wishes and interests were matters of as absolute indifference to those who now contended on their soil, as they had been during the whole preceding course of their modern history. Their future master, the French general Buona-

* Denina, Italia Occidentale, tom. v. pp. 149, 155-163, 195. Botta, tom. i. pp. 86, 111, 226, 229.

parte, receiving from the Directory the command of the army of Italy, avowed, on quitting Paris, his determination to finish the war in a month, by complete success or utter defeat. That which seemed to others an idle bravado, suggested by sudden elevation to a young and self-confident man, was, in the mind of the speaker himself, a pledge to be literally fulfilled. He began his attack on the 12th of April 1796, and on the 15th of May he entered Milan in triumph as the conqueror of all Lombardy and Piedmont.

This wonderful campaign embraced several of Napoleon's most celebrated victories. The battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, fought on three successive days in April, amidst the mountains which lie northwest from Genoa, drove back into the plain Beaulieu's Austrian army, and its Piedmontese allies under Colli. Victor-Amadeus, not less inconstant than imprudent, deserted the contest in premature despair; and in May his ambassadors at Paris signed a discreditable peace, by which he gave up Savoy and Nice to the French republic, admitted garrisons into some of his fortresses, dismantled the rest, and paid heavy contributions to the invaders. Buonaparte, pursuing the Austrians into Lombardy, intimidated the Duke of Parma into an armistice, which was purchased by a large payment in money, and the surrender of twenty works of art, to be selected by French commissioners, and placed in the museum at Paris. The bloody passage of the Bridge of Lodi, where Napoleon himself, with the generals of his staff, charged in person up to the mouths of the enemy's guns, left the plain of the Po completely open to his armies, and kindled among the young conqueror's soldiers that devoted confidence which bore them onward through years of victory. Milan received a provisional government and national guard, but had to contribute heavily for the support of the republican troops; and the Duke of Modena, also, could not obtain an armistice without furnishing liberal supplies, to which, according to the rule thenceforth invariably

followed by the invaders, was added the surrender of the choicest pictures from his gallery.*

Already feared as well as honoured abroad, General Buonaparte next proceeded to intimidate the government at home. To Carnot's order for marching upon Rome and Naples with one division of the army, while Kellermann, with another, should keep his hold of Lombardy, he replied by transmitting his resignation, and denouncing the project as ruinous. In the south, said he, there are no enemies worth conquering ; the possession of Italy must be contested with the Austrians, and the plains of the Po ought to be the scene of the struggle. While he waited for the answer to his bold remonstrance, the peasantry, excited by the priests and some of the nobles, rose in several quarters against him. At Milan the disturbance was easily quieted ; but at Pavia it was not suppressed till the town was taken by storm, and given up to be plundered by the soldiery. This terrible example produced its effect : the Italians trembled and submitted ; and the French and Germans were left to fight their battles undisturbed. In the mean time, the Directory, aware, as their general well knew, that they could not want his services, sent an approval of all his plans, and confirmed him in the undivided command of the army, stipulating only that he should satisfy the honour of France, by humbling, in his own way, the Pope and the King of Naples. He received these instructions while occupying the line of the Adige ; and, after having distributed troops on different points in the north, he himself prepared to march as far southwards as might be necessary for frightening his adversaries in

* Botta, lib. vi. vii. tom. i. p. 325-433. Thiers, vol. iv. p. 366-398. Lacreteil, livre xxvi. tome xiii. p. 93-196. Jomini, Guerres de la Révolution, 1821 ; livre x. tome viii. p. 54-166. Mignet, Histoire de la Révolution Française, 1824 ; chap. xii. p. 580. Scott's Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, vol. iii. chap. iv. p. 97-153. Alison's History of Europe during the French Revolution, 1832-1840, vol. iii. p. 1-121.

that quarter. Before he had time to cross the Apennines, the King of Naples had lost heart, and made humiliating submissions, concluding an armistice, afterwards changed into a treaty of peace. The pope, left totally defenceless, and seeing the conqueror holding Bologna in person, concluded a truce on harder terms than any which had been yet exacted. The citadel of Ancona was to be given up with all its stores ; the French were also to retain possession of the provinces of Bologna and Ferrara, where both the chief cities had organized free governments for themselves ; the papal treasury was to pay large contributions in money and provisions ; and Paris was to be adorned by a hundred works of art, and five hundred manuscripts from the Vatican. Having thus dealt with the enemies of the republic, Buonaparte next proceeded to dispose of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, its earliest friend. On a pretence that the neutrality had been violated, he seized the port of Leghorn, confiscated the goods of English traders which lay there, and attempted, though unsuccessfully, to capture their merchant-ships.*

The wars of 1796 were not yet at an end. In September a second Austrian army of 60,000 men, under the veteran Marshal Wurmser, marched through the Tyrol ; but his active adversary had already returned northwards ; and a campaign of six days in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Garda, and along the valley of the Brenta, forced the shattered remains of the imperial forces to take refuge in the strong fortress of Mantua, which the French had already attacked, and now invested anew. In November a third Austrian army, under Alvinzi, placed its enemy in extreme peril ; but the desperate battle of Arcole, fought near Verona during three whole days, drove this host likewise back into the mountains. The military events of the year were closed by the revolt of the Corsicans against the

* Botta, lib. vii. tom. i. p. 439-557. Thiers, vol. iv. p. 402-408. Saalfeld, Geschichte Napoleon Buonaparte's; 1817; vol. i. p. 54-64.

English, after which the French envoy Saliceti established in the island a provisional democratic government.

But there were yet other tasks to be performed. The French had excited in the minds of all the Italians wishes which it was very far from easy to gratify. The Lombards demanded an independent and republican organization; but the Directory, anticipating the chances of war, which might make it necessary to buy a peace with Austria, dared not as yet to do more than throw out vague encouragements. The pope, whose eastern provinces entertained similar desires, was not so dangerous; and Buonaparte, without consulting his masters, freed them from any embarrassment into which they might have been thrown by their recent treaty with the Duke of Modena. That prince's capital was disaffected, and Reggio had already openly revolted. Napoleon, professing to have discovered that the duke had violated the neutrality, deposed his administration, and declared the provinces free. By his instigation, also, deputies from Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, Mirandola, and Modena, chosen respectively by the lawyers, landholders, and merchants, assembled in the end of 1796, and erected the two papal legations with the Modenese duchy into a commonwealth. This state, lying wholly between the Po and Rome, was called the Cispadane Republic.*

* Thiers, vol. iv. pp. 404, 475-480. Botta, lib. viii. ix. tom. ii. pp. 11-18, 81-91. Memoirs dictated at Saint Helena, vol. iii. pp. 382-384, 395-400. "At present," wrote General Buona parte to the Directory in December 1796, "there are in Lombardy three parties:—One which allows itself to be guided by the French; another which is anxious, and impatiently anxious, to obtain liberty; a third, friendly to the Austrians, and hostile to us. I support and encourage the first, the second I keep in check, the third I repress. * * * The Cispadane provinces are likewise divided into three parties:—The friends of their ancient governments; those who wish for a constitution independent, but a little aristocratic; and the partisans of the French constitution, or of pure democracy. I repress the first, I support the second, and I moderate the third. I support, I say, the second; because it is the party of the rich landholders and the priests, whom it is essential to rally around the French cause. The last party is composed

The contest among the foreigners for the soil of Italy was ended in the spring of 1797. In January of that year, Alvinzi's army, increased by reinforcements to 50,000 men, attacked that under Buonaparte, amounting to about 45,000, at Rivoli, between the river Adige and the lake of Garda. This bravely fought battle closed in the total rout of the Austrians ; and early next month, Wurmser, compelled by disease and famine, surrendered Mantua. The last effort of the emperor, who sent the Archduke Charles across the north-eastern frontier of Italy, was as unfortunate as the preceding ones ; the hereditary states of Austria were invaded by the victorious general in person ; and their sovereign submitted in April, when the French army lay within twenty-five leagues of Vienna.

But, before crossing the Alps, the young conqueror had humbled another enemy. Pius the Sixth, not altogether without provocation, had broken the convention of Bologna, and raised troops to assist the emperor ; upon which, Buonaparte, after his victory over Alvinzi, marching rapidly southward, overthrew the papal troops under Colli, and dictated at Tolentino, in February, the terms of a humiliating peace. The pope formally relinquished to the Cispadane Republic, not only the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, already ceded, but the province of Romagna in addition ; he yielded to the French Republic his territories of Avignon and the neighbouring Venaissin ; he left Ancona in the hands of its troops, till a general peace should be concluded ; he engaged to pay large contributions as the ransom of those other provinces which the enemy had just seized ; and he renewed the obligation to deliver manuscripts and works of art, which accordingly were soon carried away.

The peace with the emperor was not arranged so easily. Its outlines were contained in the preliminaries of Leoben, signed on the 18th of April 1797 ; and the

of young men, literary persons, and people who, in France and in all countries, change governments and love liberty with no other view than the mere thirst for revolution."—Jomini, tome ix. p. 337.

main difficulties were obviated at the expense of Venice, whose government, regarded with dislike by both parties, had acted so as to forfeit all claims on the indulgence of the one, without being able to earn much gratitude from the other. Besides yielding the Austrian Netherlands and the frontier of the Rhine, Francis entirely renounced his provinces in Lombardy, and agreed to acknowledge the new Italian republics. In compensation for these sacrifices, he was to receive, almost entire, the mainland provinces of Venice, including Illyria, Istria, and Upper Italy as far west as the Oglio ; the districts of Bergamo and Brescia, with the Polesina, all lying beyond that river, being intended to form part of the Cispadane Republic. These Venetian territories were already in revolt, and had declared themselves free commonwealths, demanding protection from the French, who had excited them to insurrection, and now coolly abandoned most of them to a new master. For the injustice contemplated towards these unfortunate Lombards no palliation could be offered, and none was ever attempted ; but for the wrong threatened to the Venetian republic itself, pretexts speedily presented themselves.*

Before the preliminaries were signed, Colonel Junot had been despatched to Venice, to demand satisfaction for a slaughter of some soldiers in the towns bordering on the Lake of Garda. In Verona also, about the same time, the populace of the city and district, headed by a few of the nobles and clergy, attacked, robbed, and murdered the French and their partisans ; and on the 17th of April, there broke out a general massacre. The Veronese mob, and the Venetian troops, drove the foreigners into the citadel, and held the town three days, committing horrible cruelties on all who were suspected of being favourable to the enemy ; but, on the 20th of the same month, a detachment of the French stormed the place, and revenged their friends by numerous executions, in the

* Lacretelle, livre xxviii. tome xiii. p. 348-352, and the articles of Leoben, at p. 410-417. Botta, lib. x. tom. ii. p. 211-214. Thiers, vol. v. pp. 49-54, 119-121.

course of which there perished several noblemen, and a Capuchin friar, whose eloquence had been the prop of the insurrection. On the approach of the same evening, a French privateer, in escaping from an Austrian vessel, ran into the harbour of Venice, in violation of the ordinary law ; upon which a scuffle ensued with the Sclavonian sailors, and the French captain and several of his crew were killed. Buonaparte received at once the welcome news of both occurrences,—the taking of Verona, and the outrage on the ship. He instantly ordered the French envoy at Venice to depart ; but not till he should have demanded that the commandant of the port and the three inquisitors of state should be put in prison for trial. The cowardly senate, without a moment's hesitation, arrested those men, ordered the public prosecutors to draw up indictments against them, and instructed the deputies who attended at the general's headquarters, to offer the most humble submissions.

Buonaparte told them abruptly that their aristocratic constitution was out of date, and that he intended to annul it. Without waiting for an answer he declared war on Venice, whose leaders had already foreseen his sentence, and endeavoured to palliate its effects. A few of the principal nobles held a secret meeting in the apartments of the imbecile Lodovico Manin, the hundred-and-twentieth and last Doge, where they resolved to summon the Grand Council, and propose alterations in the constitution. About the very time when the lords of the Adriatic crouched thus abjectly, the last instance of Venetian spirit was exhibited in Treviso by Angelo Giustiniani, the governor of the province, who, on giving up his sword to the French general, reproached him to his face with his betrayal of Venice. Napoleon listened quietly to his invectives, and dismissed him unharmed.

Next day, while the city resounded with impotent preparations for defence, about half of the members of the Grand Council met to decree its dissolution. The doge prefaced, by a long speech, a motion for authorizing the envoys to treat with the victorious general

regarding alterations on the constitution. The motion was seconded by Pietro Antonio Bembo, and carried almost unanimously. Buonaparte, however, insisted that the council should by a formal act depose itself, and create a democracy. His agents used in the city the necessary means of allurement and intimidation ; and on the 12th of May 1797, the Grand Council met for the last time. The people gathered in the square of Saint Mark ; the sailors belonging to the ships of war, already ordered to leave the harbour, made a confused noise ; and, a few musket-shots being fired, a universal panic seized the nobles. There was a sudden cry for the question ; it was put, and the abolition of the constitution was carried by 512 voices to 20, five members declining to vote. The people were surprised to see their chiefs leaving the palace dejected ; but the cause was soon explained. A tumult arose ; the mob attacked the houses of several French partisans, and finding one man with a tricolour cockade in his pocket, nailed it upon his forehead. Order being restored, a provisional administration was established ; and, on the 16th of May, a definitive treaty was signed at Milan between France and the new republic of Venice. The representative form of government was recognised ; the infant state received, on its own petition, a garrison of French troops ; while a fine, and the delivery of pictures and manuscripts, were secretly stipulated. When, soon afterwards, the Venetian envoys who had signed this convention demanded that Buonaparte should procure a ratification of it, he coolly reminded them of a fact, which he himself had probably recollect ed a few days earlier,—that, when the treaty was arranged, their mandate had expired by the dissolution of their constituency, the Grand Council. He therefore declared, that the compact was null, and that the Directory must be left to determine for themselves in relation to the revolutionized state.*

* Daru, *Histoire de Venise*, livres xxxvi. xxxvii. xxxviii. tome v. p. 333-620 : tome vi. p. 1-64. Botta, lib. x. tom. ii. p. 225-320. Compare, with these authorities, the excellent account given in

At this time, however, it was the conqueror's wish, by an act equally unjust towards another section of the Italians, to compensate to the Venetians in some measure the spoliation they had suffered. He designed to incorporate with Venice his newly formed Cispadane Republic, while a Transpadane Republic should contain the Venetian districts of Bergamo and Brescia, in addition to the emancipated provinces in Central Lombardy, no longer liable to be claimed by Austria. But Venice was destined to be the victim of a treachery yet more inexcusable. The cession of Mantua to the Austrians, which was involved in the plan sketched at Leoben, was viewed with disapprobation in Paris ; while the Venetians were considered at once too aristocratic to be safe neighbours, and too weak to be useful allies. Francis, on the other hand, was extremely desirous to command the head of the Adriatic ; and his plenipotentiaries and the French general treated secretly for exchanging the islands and duchy of Venice for the fortress and province of Mantua.

In the mean time, the new position of matters altered Buonaparte's views as to the organization of Upper Italy. The inhabitants of the Cispadane Republic, whose constitution, though framed, had never been formally approved, were easily induced to accept a plan submitted to them, for uniting all the free provinces of the north into one powerful state ; and, on the 30th of June 1797, was announced the formation of the new commonwealth, which was named the Cisalpine Republic. A proclamation, signed by Buonaparte, declared that the French Republic had succeeded by conquest to the possession of that Italian territory formerly held by the house of Austria and other powers ; but that, relinquishing its claims, it pronounced the new state indepen-

Alison's French Revolution, vol. iii. p. 265-318 ; and see also Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon, chap. xiv. vol. ii. p. 60-75 ; 1830. Much obscurity rests on the intrigues which preceded the fall of Venice. The story, as the Venetians themselves chose to tell it, is contained in two curious volumes, entitled " Raccolta di Documenti Inediti che formano la Storia Diplomatica della Rivoluzione e Caduta di Venezia ;" Firenze, 1800.

dent, and, convinced equally of the blessings of liberty and the horrors of revolution, bestowed upon it its own constitution, "the fruit of the experience of the most enlightened nation in the world." The prescribed polity accordingly bestowed the right of citizenship on all men born and residing in the state (except beggars or vagabonds), who should have attained the age of twenty-one, and demanded inscription on the roll. The active franchise was vested in assemblies elective and primary, the executive in a directory of five members, and the making of the laws, with other deliberative functions, in a Legislative Body and Council of Ancients,—all in close imitation of the French constitution of 1795. Napoleon, as usual, reserved to himself the power of naming, for the first time, the members of the Directory and of both Councils.* That the choice of these bodies, as well as of such functionaries as were to be appointed by them, would fall on persons zealous in the republican cause, was a thing unavoidable as well as proper; but it was universally admitted that the selection was, with very few exceptions, exceedingly judicious. The president and first director was the Ex-duke Serbelloni, who did not long remain in active life; and three of the other directors, men both able and honest, were Alessandri a nobleman of Bergamo, Moscati a physician, and Paradisi a distinguished mathematician. Count Porro of Milan was minister of police; Luosi, a lawyer of Mirandola, was minister of justice; and the secretary of the Directory was Sommariva, a retired advocate of Lodi, who has since been so well known in Paris for his patronage of the fine arts. In the committee who framed the constitution, we find the names of Mascheroni the poet and man of science, and of Melzi d' Eril, whose talents, integrity, and independence were afterwards well proved in a higher sphere. Melzi was a

* Botta, lib. xiv. tom. ii. p. 415-422. Memoirs dictated at Saint Helena, vol. iv. p. 179-185. The constitution will be found at full length in Pöltz's useful collection of charters, *Die Europäischen Verfassungen seit dem Jahre 1789*; (the European Constitutions since the year 1789;) 2d edition, vol. ii. 1833; p. 350-375.

noble Milanese of Spanish extraction, and uncle to Palafox, the defender of Saragosa.

The republic at first embraced the Austrian duchy of Milan, the Venetian provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, and La Polesina, the Modenese principalities of Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, and Massa-Carrara, and the three papal legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna. In the following autumn the province of Mantua was incorporated with it. About the same time the Alpine district of the Valtelline, including Chiavenna and Bormio, was claimed as a dependency by the Grisons, but denied its subjection. Buonaparte, chosen arbiter, adjudged all the disputed territories to be independent, upon which their inhabitants offered themselves, and were received, as members of the Cisalpine Republic.

The aristocracy of Genoa did not long survive that of Venice. Internal factions were quieted by a convention of June 1797, in which the principle of democracy was recognised, and a provisional government named by the French commander-in-chief. The defeated nobles, entering into alliance with a few unscrupulous ministers of the church, were able to convince the populace that their foreign friends wished to destroy the ancient faith ; and it is said that, for the benefit of the better educated class, there was printed a falsified copy of the proposed constitution, containing an article which declared the Catholic religion to be abolished in the state. In September several thousand armed peasants attacked the city, but were beaten with great slaughter by General Duphot, at the head of the national guards and French troops ; and, on the 2d of December, there was publicly laid before the people, and approved, a constitution of the same sort as the Cisalpine, under which the Genoese state was styled the Ligurian Republic.*

The fate of Venice had been already settled. Its interests formed no part of those difficulties which made

* Botta, lib. xi. tom. ii. p. 343-369. Pölitz, vol. ii. pp. 344, 345. Memoirs dictated at Saint Helena, vol. iv. p. 150-164. Alison's French Revolution, vol. iii. p. 293-296.

the negotiations of the autumn so stormy ; and on the 17th of October 1797 the treaty of Campo Formio established peace definitively between France and Austria, to which latter the island-city was given up without reserve or conditions. The fleets of the Directory seized the Ionian islands, the Austrians occupied the mainland, and on the 18th of January 1798 the French troops which had garrisoned the city itself since the preceding spring, evacuated it, and admitted the soldiers of the emperor.*

Though Pius the Sixth still retained his western and south-eastern provinces, he was about to lose these also. His subjects were now universally infected with the prevalent love of change ; Urbino, Macerata, and other places, repeatedly declared themselves republican and independent ; and the Directory watched but for a plausible pretence to strike the last blow. In December 1797, a quarrel between some of the French partisans in Rome and the papal soldiery produced a riot, in the course of which the democratic party fled for refuge to the Corsini Palace, occupied by Joseph Buonaparte, the ambassador of France. The military pursued them, and in the confusion General Duphot was shot upon the staircase. The Parisian government exclaimed against this violation of public law, recapitulated all the offences already committed by the papal court, refused to accept its apologies, and in February 1798 an army under Berthier occupied its capital. Their general demanded that the pope should resign his temporal sovereignty, retaining his universal bishopric, and receiving a large pension. Pius, obstinately refusing, was carried into Tuscany, and thence into France, where he died. The nobles and cardinals were plundered ; and though the people at large were better treated, yet,

* "Thus perished Venice. In these days, when Venice shall be spoken of, the name will signify Venice enslaved ; but a time will come, and perhaps is not distant, when the name of Venice will mean ruins and sea-weed covering the spot, where once rose a magnificent city, the marvel of the world."—Botta, lib. xii. tom. i. p. 504

with the characteristic fickleness of their race, they attempted in the Trastevere a revolt, which was not quelled without much bloodshed. The French soldiers and subalterns themselves, not only defrauded of their pay but disgusted by the rapine of the superior officers and commissaries, mutinied both in Rome and Mantua ; and General Massena, the worst offender, found it prudent to resign his command.

On the 20th of March 1798, the constitution of the Roman or Tiberine Republic was formally proclaimed. Like the rest, it was a servile copy from that of the French, which, however, it was thought necessary in this instance to disguise under classical names. The state was at first composed of the Agro Romano, with the Patrimony, Sabina, Umbria, the territories of Orvieto, Perugia, Macerata, Camerino, and Fermo ; but the March of Ancona, which had been temporarily formed into a separate commonwealth, was soon added to it.*

The Expulsion of the French from Italy :

A. D. 1798—A. D. 1799.

The years 1798 and 1799 formed a strong contrast to those which immediately preceded them. Within and without, in finance, in diplomacy, and in war, France was alike unfortunate. In the beginning of this period her champion Buonaparte sailed for Egypt with his Italian army ; and the fields where these brave men had gained their laurels were now to be the scene of repeated and disastrous defeats, inflicted upon those who attempted to retain their conquests.

The French owed this result in some measure to their own misconduct ; for, little as the Italians were able to influence permanently the destiny of their native land, the

* Jomini, livre xiii. tome x. p. 332-339. Botta, lib. xiii. tom. ii. p. 509-546. Lacretele, livre xxx. tome xiv. p. 145-163. Desodoards, Histoire d'Italie, tome viii. p. 379-386. Dupper's Journal of 1798 in Rome. Alison, vol. iii. pp. 537, 541, 547.

resentment which was kindled throughout the country by the behaviour of the foreigners, aided materially in precipitating their second change of masters. The policy pursued systematically by the French Republic towards those new commonwealths, which she professed to regard as her independent allies, would have been insufferably irritating even though it had been administered by agents prudent and honourable. Each state was obliged not only to receive a large body of French soldiers, but to defray the expenses of their subsistence. The Cisalpine republic, by a treaty which its legislative councils long refused to ratify, was compelled to admit an army of 25,000 men, and to pay annually for its support eighteen millions of francs ; even its own native troops were placed under the command of the French generals ; the members of its administration were forcibly displaced if, like Moscati and Paradisi, they refused to obey orders transmitted from Paris ; and some of the most patriotic Lombards, such as Baron Custodi and the poet Fantoni, were imprisoned for that opposition which the foreign rulers called incivism. The constitution itself soon gave way ; for, on the last day of August 1798, an irregular meeting of the councils substituted for it a new one, dictated by Trouvé the French envoy at Milan ; and his plan again made room for other changes, enforced by his successor the notorious Fouché, and by Fouché's successor Rivaud. The opposition-party in Paris remonstrated in vain ; and the Lombards began to hate equally the French nation, and those of themselves who were unfortunate enough to hold places of authority. A few honest patriots, headed by General Lahoz of Mantua, and the Cremonese Birago, who had been minister at war, organized a secret society for establishing Italian independence ; and in the Ligurian and Roman states a similar spirit was rapidly spreading, although it worked less strongly. There, indeed, the grievances were not of so outrageous a kind, and consisted mainly in the extortions and oppressions practised incessantly by the generals and agents of the Directory,

than which no government on earth had ever servants more shamefully dishonest.*

But the French Republic, before losing its hold of Italy, had the fortune for a short time to possess the whole peninsula. The sovereigns of continental Europe, having lost sight of Napoleon, began to recover courage ; and no sooner did the intelligence arrive that Nelson had destroyed the enemy's fleet at Aboukir, than a new league was formed, in which Italy was made one of the principal objects. The first move was made, imprudently and prematurely, by the king of Naples, or rather by his queen and her advisers, who, raising an army of 80,000 men, invaded the Roman territories. In November 1798 they seized the capital, where their soldiers behaved with an insolent cruelty which made the citizens, although heartily sick of the French, wish fervently to have them back again. The Austrian general Mack, who had been placed at the head of the Neapolitan troops, showed on a small scale that incapacity which afterwards more signally disgraced him ; his soldiers were undisciplined, indolent, and lukewarm ; and Championnet, reconquering the papal provinces with a French army not half so large as that of his adversary, pursued him southward, and, almost without striking a blow, became master of the kingdom of Naples.

The only resistance really formidable was offered when the republican troops approached the metropolis. The weak king had already fled, and, embarking on board the English fleet, crossed into Sicily. The peasantry hung on the rear of the invaders, and massacred stragglers ; and the Lazzaroni, that wild race who formed in those days so large a proportion of the populace, rose in fury on the report that a convention was concluded by the governor Prince Pignatelli. The fierce rabble filled

* Thiers, vol. v. pp. 199-202, 270-277, 292-295. Jomini, livre xiii. tome x. p. 364-367. Botta, lib. xiv. tom. iii. p. 49-69. Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo, tome i. p. 190-193 ; Londres et Paris, 1828. Memoirs of Lucien Buonaparte, Prince of Canino, vol. i. p. 110-122 ; London, 1836.

the streets, howling acclamations to the king, the holy Catholic faith, and their tutelary saint Januarius ; they drove out the regency, butchered the suspected democrats, and, with arms, though without either discipline or officers, poured out to meet the enemy on the plains. The French cannon mowed them down like grass ; but for three whole days they again and again returned to the charge, and several thousands of them fell before they gave way. The wrecks of this irrationally brave multitude next defended the city, which the assailants had to gain street by street. Championnet, accompanied by Faypoult, the commissioner of the Directory, took formal possession of Naples, divided all the mainland provinces into departments, and formed them into one state, called the Parthenopean Republic. A commission of citizens was appointed to prepare a constitution, in which the chief part of the task was performed by Mario Pagano, whose works engaged our notice at an earlier stage. The plan which was finally approved was in substance the same as the other Italian charters ; but its author had added to the ordinary features two original ones,—a tribunal of five censors, whose functions as correctors of vice were not likely to do much good, and an ephorate or court of supreme revision for laws and magistracies, which promised better fruits.*

The nobles in the provinces were much divided in their opinions ; but many of them still fondly remembered the lessons which they had learned from Filangieri and his scholars ; and the middle classes, having yet experienced no evils but those of absolute and feudal monarchy, listened with eagerness to the promises held out by the republicans. In the huge metropolis the adherents of the king were powerless ; many were willing, from the usual motives, to worship the rising sun ; a few lettered enthusiasts were sincere in their hopes of witnessing at

* Colletta, lib. iv. cap. i. tom. i. p. 325-346. Botta, lib. xvi. tom. iii. p. 194-201. Jomini, livre xiv. tome xi. p. 33-86. Mignet, chap. xiii. p. 610. Alison, vol. iii. p. 575.

length that regeneration which their country so greatly needed ; and the Lazzaroni themselves became submissive and well-disposed, as soon as the saints, through the agency of their accredited servants, had declared in favour of freedom and democracy.*

Piedmont had already fallen. Ginguené, who afterwards wrote the history of Italian literature, had failed, as ambassador at Turin, in executing with proper cunning the plans of Talleyrand ; but his successor soon contrived to irritate into open resistance the new prince Charles Emmanuel, a weak, bigoted, conscientious man. General Joubert seized the province and citadel of Turin ; and the king, executing on the 9th of December 1798 a formal act of abdication of his sovereignty over the mainland, was allowed to retire into Sardinia. The provisional government named for Piedmont, among whom was the historian Botta, found it impossible to rule the impoverished and distracted country ; repose was the universal wish, and a union with the all-powerful neighbour seemed the only probable means of attaining it. Early in the ensuing spring Piedmont was organized on the model of the French republic, as the last step but one towards a final incorporation.†

There remained to be destroyed no more than two of the old Italian governments. In January 1799 Lucca,

* "Championnet understood perfectly the importance which those fiery spirits attached to their religious belief. Accordingly he placed a guard of honour at the church of Saint Januarius, and sent to those who had charge of it a polite message, intimating that he should feel particularly obliged if the saint would perform the usual miracle of the liquefaction of his blood. The saint did perform the miracle ; and the Lazzaroni hailed it with loud applause, exclaiming, that after all it was not true that the French were a godless race, as the court had wished them to think ; and that now nothing should ever make them believe but it was the will of Heaven that the French should possess Naples, since in their presence the blood of the saint had melted."—Botta, lib. xvi. tom. iii. p. 199.—See also Colletta, tom. i. p. 330.

† Thiers, vol. v. p. 291. Lacreteil, livre xxx. tome xiv. p. 172-179. Denina, Italia Occidentale, lib. xx. cap. 5, 6 ; tom. v. p. 232-247. Botta, lib. xv. xvi. tom. iii. pp. 139-159, 233-244.

then occupied by French troops under General Miollis, abolished its oligarchy, and assumed a directorial and democratic constitution, after the fashionable example.* In March, the Directory, now assured of a fresh war with Austria, seized all the large towns in Tuscany, placed the duchy under the protection of a French commissioner, and allowed the Grand Duke Ferdinand to retire to Vienna with a part of his personal property.†

But a storm was now about to break upon the heads of the French in every quarter of Italy; and the year 1799 became for the grim Suwarrow that which 1796 had been for Buonaparte. In the end of March the Austrian general Bellegarde crossed the Alps, beat back the republican forces in the north, and joined the Russians, raising the allied army to a strength of 60,000, while its opponents in the peninsula did not amount to a third of the number. The gallant Moreau, the French commander-in-chief, had the hard task of fighting for the honour of his nation without a chance of victory; and Macdonald, the new commandant of Naples, was ordered to cut his way to his superior through the whole length of Italy; an undertaking which he accomplished with great loss but signal bravery. The allies overran the Milanese and Piedmont; and the Directory sent two new armies under Championnet and Joubert, both of which were defeated. Most of those Italians who had taken a lead in the republican governments fled into France, and those who remained behind were imprisoned and otherwise punished. The peasantry in almost every province rose and aided the allies. Naples was lost in June, and Rome immediately followed. Ancona, desperately defended by General Monnier, capitulated in October; and at the end of the year Massena commanded, within the walls of Genoa, besieged, famished, and about to surrender, the only French troops that were left in Italy.

* Botta, lib. xvi. tom. iii. p. 230-233.

† Ibid. iii. p. 249-251.

Although the military events of this year do not possess such importance as to deserve minute recital, yet one chapter of its history, embracing the horrible fate which befell Naples, is both painfully interesting in itself, and strikingly illustrative of the disorganized state of society in that quarter. The spectacle which was exhibited in the overgrown metropolis of that kingdom was indeed so unlike any thing we should expect to witness in modern times, that we endeavour to find a partial solution of the problem in the moral and statistical position of the city. We can find no parallel without reverting to the period of the Roman empire.

The municipal constitution of Naples, whose main features have already been incidentally described, was the model for all the cities in the kingdom, except Aquila, whose polity was copied from Rome. Thefts and robberies were rare ; the homicides were estimated at about forty annually ; and some vices the government chose to overlook. The municipal administration, with a jurisdiction extending only over the markets and the university, belonged to the Eletti or representatives of the Piazze, Seggi, or Sedili, of which there were six, composed exclusively of nobles. These patricians, meeting in open porticos, several of which may still be seen in ruins, chose annually deputies in each piazza, and the deputies chose the Eletto. A seventh piazza was formed for the Popolo or plebeian burghers ; but care was taken that this class should have no real power. They were divided locally into twenty-nine wards, for each of which the king every year named a Capitano ; and the twenty-nine captains, who were held to compose the piazza of the people, appointed, as the Eletto del Popolo, a citizen, not noble, suggested by the crown. The Seven Eletti, with a Syndic chosen by the six noble Eletti, formed the Municipal Council, and met twice a-week in a convent, from which the board derived its usual name of the Tribunal of San Lorenzo. Many functions of the municipality were devolved upon

nine Deputations of citizens, chosen periodically by the patrician piazze.*

But of the Popolo, a very large number, said to have amounted in the end of the eighteenth century to thirty thousand, or more, were known in ordinary language by the name of Lazzari or Lazzaroni. These were the lowest of the inhabitants, including, of course, many who had no honest means of livelihood, but consisting mainly of those who, though they gained their bread by their labour, did not practise any sort of skilled industry. Their distinctive character, as compared with the populace of other great cities, lay in two points. First, the usual cheapness of fruits and other vegetables enabled them to subsist on the very smallest earnings ; while the mildness of the climate made them, during the greater part of the year, nearly independent both of clothing and shelter. Accordingly, many of them were literally homeless, spending the day in the streets as errand-porters, fruit-sellers, day-labourers, or mere idlers, and sleeping by night on the steps of churches or beneath archways ; while all of them were for a great part of their time quite unemployed. These circumstances produced their second peculiarity, that strong spirit of union which had at one time extended to a regular organization. They were the only class in Italy whom the Spaniards feared ; the viceroys named them in their edicts with deference, and received deputations from them to complain of grievances ; and in the seventeenth century they were even allowed to meet tumultuously once a-year in the Piazza del Mercato, and name by acclamation their temporary chief or Capo-Lazzaro. Since the accession of the Bourbons, it is true, they were less closely banded together, and their custom of electing an annual head seems to have fallen into disuse ; but we have already seen, and shall immediately discover still more dreadful proofs, that the ancient temper was not yet extinct.

* Galanti, *Descrizione di Napoli*, 1792; sect. 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 20.

We cannot fail to be struck with the likeness which this unwieldy and dangerous commonalty bore to the populace of imperial Rome; and the system which was pursued for furnishing the city with provisions was another point of close resemblance. During four hundred years every conceivable plan for preventing scarcity by restrictive laws had been tried without effect. An assize of bread and flour, fixed in 1401, was followed in 1496 by the building of public magazines, in which the Eletti kept a large stock of grain; and at the same time there was established a strict monopoly in favour of a prescribed number of flour-merchants and bakers. The municipality lost enormously by this system; for dearths became frequent, and the corporation then, exactly like the Roman senate and emperors, sold their corn at a heavy loss, and lowered the price of the bread. Since 1764 the city had been supplied by eighteen privileged bakers, by the maccheroni-makers, and one or two subordinate crafts; these tradesmen paid rent to the government for their shops; and not only were they obliged to buy the greater part of their flour from the public granaries, but had to deposit corn of their own in large quantities, as a security for their engagements, being bound likewise to purchase this grain from the distant provinces. In the year 1782 it was ascertained from official returns that, in the nineteen years preceding, the corporation had lost 2,632,645 ducats, or about £436,000. They had spent this money without earning so much as thanks; for there was a general prejudice against their establishments, and, both at Naples and at Palermo, where there was a similar system, more than two-thirds of the people made their own bread at home, except when the price of grain rose, on which every one flocked to the public bakeries.*

Such was the scene, and such were the principal

* Cantalupo Dell' Annona, cap. ii. § 1-10; among the Italian Political Economists, tom. xlviij. p. 43-87.

actors, in that fearful tragedy of which we are now to be spectators.

Scarcely had the Parthenopean Republic been proclaimed when the ferocious Cardinal Ruffo landed at Reggio, bringing with him from Sicily a patent as royal vicar. In Calabria, and the other southern provinces, he soon organized numerous tumultuary hordes, several of whose captains were the most practised robbers, a few bands being commanded by military subalterns, and some by parish priests. Proni, one of the leaders, was a convicted assassin ; De' Cesari was a notorious highwayman, as was Michele Pezzo, better known by the name of *Fra Diavolo*, or Friar Beelzebub ; and Mammone Gaetano, a miller of Sora, was the worst monster of all. The brigands crowded to serve under their favourite captains ; many old soldiers enlisted, and the peasants, aroused by their clergymen, joined in thousands, and quickly learned the trade of murder. The French despatched against them General Duhesme, who was accompanied by a young Neapolitan, Ettore Caraffa, count of Ruvo, a man every way worthy to be pitted against the cardinal and his associates. The two parties swept over the kingdom like a plague, from Reggio to the mountains of the Ulterior Abruzzo ; and the war, if it deserves the name, soon became on both sides a struggle of revenge and extermination. Prisoners were put to the torture ; villages and towns were burnt, and their inhabitants massacred ; Caraffa had the barbarous satisfaction of exterminating his rebellious vassals ; and Ruffo's followers, enamoured of bloodshed and pillage, speedily ceased to ask whether their victims were republicans or royalists.*

The cardinal, soon reducing the southern districts, advanced upon Naples ; and the French, unable to cope with him, evacuated the city, leaving but weak garrisons in the three castles. The republican government

* Colletta, lib. iv. cap. 2. tom. i. p. 347-379. Botta, lib. xvi. xviii. tom. iii. pp. 210-226, 438-442.

lost authority at once, and the legislative councils were insulted in their halls by bands of armed ruffians. No plan of defence seems to have been matured ; although the leading men did all they could to inspirit the people. In the theatres, which continued open, Alfieri's tragedies were received with shouts, and interrupted by vehement addresses from persons in the crowd ; friars preached freedom and resistance in the churches and on the streets ; and the superstitious Lazzaroni were for a time kept in check, by seeing the saints anew manifest their favour to the revolution.* The few native troops which still were under arms were sent out and defeated in the plain ; and, when the royalists approached, abject terror alternated with the resolution of despair. Most members of the councils and administration retired into the lower forts, the Castel d' Uovo and Castel Nuovo.

There were in Naples about two thousand Calabrese, men of all ranks, nobles, priests, and peasants, driven from their homes by Ruffo's hordes. They alone were firm. A part of them took up their post in the city ; the rest, unprovided with artillery, marched out and garrisoned the castle of Viviena, beyond the bridge of the Maddalena. The royalists surrounded them ; their heavy guns battered down the walls of the fort ; and the assailants entered by storm. The republicans fought like hungry tigers ; not a man surrendered or fled ; and, when all but a handful had fallen, Antonio Toscani, a priest of Cosenza, who commanded this little remnant, threw a match into the powder-magazine beside him, and perished in the common destruction of friends and enemies. The streets were for a time defended by the remaining Cala-

* “ In the midst of this confusion, the customary annual procession of Saint Januarius took place with much pomp. Before it began, the democratic leaders sent to the keepers of the church, desiring them to pray heartily that the saint might perform the miracle. The keepers did pray heartily, and the blood bubbled up in less than two minutes. The Lazzaroni shouted that Saint Januarius had become a republican.”—Botta, lib. xviii. tom. iii. p. 450.

brese ; while Prince Caraccioli the king's admiral, who had joined the popular party, kept up a fire on the royalists from a few small vessels in the harbour ; but a body of the Lazzaroni suddenly attacked the republicans in the rear, their ranks were broken, and the city was lost. Ruffo took possession of it on the 14th of June 1799.*

Dark as are the crimes which stain the history of our race, humanity has seldom been disgraced by scenes so horrible as those which followed. Universal carnage was but one feature of the atrocity : the details are sickening, many of them utterly unfit to be told. Some republicans were strangled with designed protraction of agony ; others were burnt upon slow fires ; the infuriated murderers danced and yelled round the piles on which their victims writhed ; and it is even said that men were seen to snatch the flesh from the ashes, and greedily devour it. The Lazzaroni, once more loyal subjects, eagerly assisted in hunting down the rebels : during two whole days the massacre was uninterrupted ; and death without torture was accepted as mercy.

The two lower castles surrendered, on a capitulation with the cardinal, which stipulated that the republicans should, at their choice, remain unmolested in Naples or be conveyed to Toulon ; and two prelates with two noblemen, who were prisoners in the forts, were consigned to Colonel Méjean, the French commandant of the Castel Sant' Elmo, as hostages for the performance of the convention. The last incidents of this bloody tale cannot be told without extreme reluctance by any native of the British empire ; for they stain deeply one of the brightest names in our national history. While the persons protected by the treaty were preparing to embark, the English fleet under Nelson arrived, bringing the king, the minister Acton, and the ambassador Sir William Hamilton, with his wife, who was at once the queen's

* Botta, lib. xvii. tom. iii. pp. 453, 456. Colletta, lib. iv. cap. 3, tom. i. p. 394.

confidante and the evil genius of the brave admiral. The French commandant, treacherous as well as cowardly, surrendered the castle, and gave up the hostages without making any conditions. The capitulation was declared null, although the cardinal indignantly remonstrated, and retired from the royal service on failing to procure its fulfilment. The republicans were searched for and imprisoned ; and arbitrary commissions sat to try them. Under the sentences passed by such courts, in the metropolis and the provinces, four thousand persons died by the hand of the executioner.

Among them were some whose names appeared with distinction on the file of literature :—Domenico Cirillo, the naturalist, who refused to beg his life ; the eloquent and philosophical Mario Pagano ; Lorenzo Baffi, the translator of some of the Herculanean manuscripts, who rejected poison offered to him by his friends in prison ; Conforti, a learned canonist, and writer on ethics and history ; Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel, a woman of much talent, who had edited a democratic newspaper. Mantonè, an artillery officer, who had been the republican minister-at-war, made on his trial no defence but this, “I have capitulated.” On board one of the ships was executed the aged Admiral Caraccioli, with whose name our countrymen are but too well acquainted. Another victim, the Count of Ruvo, does not inspire so much compassion, unless we are to believe, as his whole conduct leads one to suspect, that he was absolutely insane. Being sentenced to be beheaded, he insisted on dying with his eyes unbandaged, laid himself upon the block with his face uppermost, and watched steadily the descending axe.* Superstitious folly closed scenes which had begun in treachery and revenge. Saint Januarius, for having wrought republican miracles, was solemnly deposed by the Lazzaroni, with the approval of the

* Botta, lib. xviii. tom. iii. p. 465-484. Colletta, lib. iv. cap. 3, lib. v. cap. 11, tom. i. pp. 401-405, 408-427. Jomini, livre xv. tome xii. p. 139-176.

government ; and in his place was substituted, as patron of the city, Saint Antony of Padua, who, through the agency of the church, had revealed a design said to have been formed by the advocates of democracy, for hanging all the loyal populace. The new protector, however, proved inefficient ; and the old one was soon reinstated.*

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC DURING THE CONSULATE OF
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

A.D. 1800—A.D. 1804.

The fortunes of France, sunk to the lowest ebb, were about to swell again with a tide fuller than ever. While the restored sovereigns of Italy were busied in reorganizing their states and punishing their revolted subjects, Paris saw the “heir of the revolution” take possession of his inheritance. Buonaparte, having returned from the East, was master of France, and resolved to be master of Europe. He was nominated First Consul under the constitution called that of the year Eight, which was proclaimed on the 26th day of December 1799.

In May 1800, the main body of the French army, led by Napoleon in person, effected its celebrated passage of the Great Saint Bernard. The invaders, pouring from the highlands, overran Lombardy, and attacked Piedmont. The Austrian general Melas, with 40,000 men, was stationed near Alessandria, when the First Consul, somewhat inferior in strength, advanced against him ; and on the 14th of June the two hosts encountered each other on the bloody field of Marengo. In the evening, when the French had all but lost the battle, Dessaix came up and achieved the victory at the cost of his life ; the Austrians were signally defeated, and the reconquest of Italy, so far as it was judged prudent to attempt it, was already secured. Melas concluded an armistice which gave the enemy possession of Genoa, Savona, and

* Botta, tom. iii. p. 462. Desodoards, tome ix. p. 140.

Urbino, with all the strong places in Piedmont and Lombardy as far east as the Oglio. Napoleon reorganized the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, created a provisional government in Piedmont, and returned to Paris.

Meanwhile, the old pope having died the preceding year, a conclave, which opened at Venice in March 1800, had raised to the papal chair Cardinal Chiaramonti, a native of Cesena and bishop of Imola, who, since the annexation of his see to the Cisalpine commonwealth, had favoured liberal opinions in politics. He was allowed by all parties to return to Rome, and assume the government of the provinces which had formed the Tiberine republic. The King of Naples was left unmolested; but Tuscany, at first given up to the Austrians, was seized in a short time by the French.

The negotiations for a lasting peace proved abortive, and a new war speedily commenced, which was chiefly waged on the northern side of the Alps, and ended in December 1800, with Moreau's victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden. In the beginning of the following year, the peace of Luneville restored matters in northern Italy nearly to the same position which they had occupied under the treaty of Campo Formio; but Tuscany was erected into the Kingdom of Etruria, and given to Louis, son of the Duke of Parma, though the French were to retain Elba, Piombino, and the coast-garrisons. The new king's father (whose duchy was given to France), and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were to be compensated in Germany for the loss of their Italian states. The King of Naples, after invading the Roman provinces, and giving Murat the trouble of marching an army as far as Foligno to meet him, abandoned his engagements with England, and concluded an alliance with the French Republic.

Napoleon, restoring the Catholic religion in France, and endeavouring to maintain a good understanding with the court of Rome, proceeded to rearrange the republican states of Italy. According to his usual policy, however, he tried to make all his changes appear to have

proceeded from the wish of the people themselves ; and, through honest conviction in many cases, and selfish subserviency in many more, he was easily able to procure converts to his opinions.

In December 1801, commissioners in Lucca completed a new plan of polity for that little state ; and in the same month, a deputation of four hundred and fifty citizens, from the Cisalpine Republic, offered to the First Consul at Lyons the presidency of their government for a term of years. He accepted the gift, and in January 1802, with the assent of the deputies, promulgated a constitution for their state, which was now named the Italian Republic. In June following, the Ligurian Republic likewise accepted an altered charter, which received modifications in December. The Piedmontese, wearied of anarchy, and of their despot General Menou, consented, for the second time, that their country should be made a province of France ; and the formal annexation took place in September of the same year.*

The gradual changes of views in Buonaparte and his countrymen, are curiously illustrated by the successive constitutions which their influence established in Italy. In 1802, at home as well as abroad, they were immeasurably distant from the universal citizenship and primary assemblies of 1793 ; but their southern polity differed in several prominent points from that which had been imposed on their own country. It is best exemplified by the constitution of the Italian Republic, which was closely copied in the Ligurian ; and these charters were considered at the time, not without probability, as experiments by which the First Consul tried the temper of his future subjects on his own side of the Alps.† In

* Botta, lib. xxi. tom. iv. pp. 111, 121-142, 145. Jomini, livre xviii. xix. tome xiv. p. 426-428, tome xv. p. 20. Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo, tome i. p. 254-259. Denina, Italia Occidentale, lib. xxi. cap. 2-5 ; tom. v. p. 281-312.

† They are described by Botta, tom. iv. pp. 132-135, 140-142 ; and both acts are given at length by Pöllitz, vol. ii. pp. 346-349, 377-386.

the first place, this system boldly shook off democracy ; for the citizens at large were disfranchised, not indeed in words, but in reality : a step which had not been fully taken in France, even by Buonaparte's consular constitution. Next, the Italian acts divided among the colleges, or bodies of the middle and upper classes (boards elected with something like freedom of choice), most of those functions which in Paris were committed to the consul's favourite tool, the self-appointed Senate. Lastly, the mass of the people being thus disarmed, and the educated leaders lulled into acquiescence, the president of the state received a power far beyond even that which he exercised over his French fellow-citizens.

The details of the constitution given to the Italian Republic are historically curious, in relation both to what went before and to what followed.

It at once narrowed the franchise, declaring citizenship to be dependent on a property-qualification, which was to be fixed by the legislature ; but this right carried, by itself, not a particle of political power. The elective functions were vested exclusively in Three Colleges and a Board of Censors, which were to be convoked once at least in two years, for short sessions. The College of the Possidenti or Landholders was composed of three hundred citizens, rated for the land-tax on property worth not less than 6000 Milanese livres, or about £170. It was self-elected, and met at Milan. The College of the Dotti or Savans contained two hundred citizens, eminent in art, theology, ethics, jurisprudence, physics, or political science. At every sitting it made up a triple list of candidates for admission into its number, from which the censors nominated to vacancies. It sat at Bologna. The College of the Commercianti or Merchants consisted of two hundred citizens, elected by the board itself from among the most distinguished mercantile men or manufacturers. Its seat was Brescia. Members of all the colleges held their places for life. The Censors were a committee of twenty-one named by the colleges at every sitting, nine by that of the landholders, and six

by each of the two others. This commission, assembling at Cremona, nominated the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Courts of Revision and Cassation, and the Commissaries of Finance, all from lists submitted by the colleges. It was likewise authorized, when called on by the colleges, to impeach public servants for malversation in office.

The administration was vested in a President (who could name a Vice-president), a Council of State, a Cabinet of Ministers, and a Legislative Council. The President was elected by the first of these bodies, and held his office for ten years. He possessed the initiative in all laws, and in all diplomatic business, and also the whole executive power, to be exercised through the ministry. The Council of State was particularly designed for advising in foreign affairs, and for sanctioning by its decrees all extraordinary measures of the President, such as summary arrests, temporary banishments, and other suspensions of the constitution. The Ministers lay under a broad personal responsibility, both for acts and omissions. The Legislative Council, chosen, like the ministry, by the President, had a deliberative voice in all drafts of laws ; and the preparation and carrying through of bills were to be mainly intrusted to it. The salary of the President was fixed at 500,000 Milanese lire, or £15,200.

The Legislative Body, which possessed the functions indicated by its name, consisted of seventy-five members, one-third of whom were to go out every two years. It was to be convoked and prorogued by the government ; but its sittings were to last not less than two months in every year. The members named fifteen or more of themselves as a Committee, which, under the name of Speakers, considered in the first instance all bills transmitted by the government ; and no debate was allowed, except through two of these officers, and two members of the Legislative Council. The voting was by ballot ; and the meetings were not public. All the members were salaried.

The constitution laid down a few leading principles to guide future enactments as to the administration of justice. It prohibited a third appeal, where a second judge had confirmed the decision of the first; it promised local courts and summary tribunals of commerce; and it engaged that, in criminal charges involving corporal or other disgraceful punishments, there should be introduced juries, on the English model, whose verdicts were to be subject to no review. The judges in the two highest tribunals,—those of Revision and Cassation,—were to be named by the Colleges, and were to furnish lists from which the Legislative Council should select the members of the other courts. All judges were to hold office during life or good behaviour.

The Catholic clergy were recognised as the ministers of the national church, and as entitled to possess the ecclesiastical revenues. The administration named the bishops, who again appointed the parish priests, subject to the approval of the government. An unqualified toleration was promised to all other creeds.

The tenor of this charter, and the position which Napoleon held in virtue of it, made it more natural than usual that he should, as his countrymen had invariably done in similar cases, nominate for the first time all the members of the government. The choice was in general wise and popular. Melzi d' Eril was vice-president: and in the Council of State were found Serbelloni, Paradisi, and Luosi, with others of more accommodating temper, such as Marescalchi, Fenaroli, and Caprara, who afterwards rose to high nobility during the imperial times. In the Legislative Council, the most distinguished names were those of the jurist Aldini, who was Galvani's nephew, and the ex-minister Birago. The Legislative Body, as being more numerous, was necessarily more mixed in character; but it embraced men of consideration from all quarters of the state.

Under this new order of things, while the Neapolitan government ruled with jealousy and little wisdom, and the Court of Rome with kindness but feebly, the

remainder of the peninsula was subject, either in reality or both in reality and in name, to the French Republic. Sustained by foreign influence, the northern and central regions of Italy began to enjoy a prosperity and quiet to which for years they had been strangers. The new commonwealths were as far as ever from being nationally independent; some parts of the country were avowedly provinces of France; and every where the political privileges of individuals had, as we have seen, shrunk far within the limits to which they had stretched immediately after the Revolution. But the absence of national independence, although a great evil, was counterbalanced by many advantages; and the curtailment of public rights, as bitter experience had proved, was a blessing both to the state and to its citizens.

We shall be better able, however, to comprehend both the nature of the system and the improvements which it effected on the character of the nation, after we have traced the designs of its founder to their complete accomplishment, in the subsequent stages of his history.

CHAPTER VI.

The Political History of Italy under the Empire of Napoleon.

A. D. 1804—A. D. 1814.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY TILL 1812 : Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy—Genoa annexed to France—Lucca a Principality—Venice annexed to the Kingdom of Italy—Joseph Buonaparte, King of Naples—Tuscany and Parma annexed to France—Joachim Murat, King of Naples—Occupation of Rome by the French—All the Papal Provinces annexed to the Kingdom of Italy or to France—The Southern Tyrol annexed to the Kingdom of Italy—INTERNAL STATE OF ITALY AND THE ISLANDS : Political Divisions after 1810—Features common to the whole Peninsula—*The Italian Provinces of France*—Government—Character of Officials—Finances—*The Kingdom of Italy*—The Charter of 1805—Arbitrary Innovations—The French Codes—The Conscription—French Troops—Education—The Church—Suppression of Monachism—The Press—The Viceroy Eugene—Italian Statesmen—Re-institution of Nobility—Finances—Appropriation of the Revenue—Public Spirit—*The Kingdom of Naples*—Joseph's Reforms—Local Administrations—Courts of Law—Finance—Religion and Education—Joachim's Government—*Sicily*—The Parliament of 1810—The Five Barons—Lord William Bentinck's Constitution—New Disturbances—*Sardinia*—Abdication of Charles Emmanuel—Victor Emmanuel's Measures—THE FALL OF NAPOLEON—Russia and Leipzig—Concordat of Fontainebleau—Feelings and Opinions in Italy—The Italian Campaign of 1813—Victories of the Allied Armies—Napoleon's Abdication in 1814—Restoration of the Legitimate Sovereigns—Joachim's Fall.

HISTORICAL EVENTS FROM 1804 TILL 1812.

On the 18th day of May 1804, the Senate declared Napoleon Emperor of the French, “through the grace of God

and the principles of the republic." The pope, after much hesitation, consented to bestow on the new empire the sanction of the church; and accordingly, journeying to Paris in the dead of winter, he officiated at the coronation in Notre Dame.*

The Italians could not reasonably expect that they should be allowed to stand solitary exceptions to the new system of their master; and the principal citizens in Lombardy were speedily prepared, by arguments or inducements suited to the occasion, for taking such steps as should place them, with an appearance of voluntary submission, under the monarchical polity. The vice-president Melzi was sent to Paris at the head of a deputation from the Italian Republic, comprising the Council of State with commissioners named by the colleges and magistracies, to attend at the coronation, and congratulate their president on his accession of dignity. In March 1805, these envoys waited on the emperor, and presented to him an instrument purporting to contain the unanimous resolution of the constituted authorities of the state, whereby they offered to him and his male descendants, legitimate, natural, or adopted, the crown of their Republic, which, they consented, should be transformed into "The Kingdom of Italy." The resolutions were immediately embodied in a constitutional statute, by which Napoleon accepted the sovereignty, but pledged himself to resign it in favour of one who should be born or adopted his son, as soon as Naples, the Ionian Isles, and Malta, should be evacuated by all foreign troops. In April the emperor-king passed through Piedmont in triumph, and on the 26th of May his coronation was performed in the cathedral of Milan. The archbishop of the see, Cardinal Caprara, who had been his principal assistant in negotiating with the pope, attended at the ceremony,

* The Romans did not let slip so fair an occasion for pasquinades as this unexpected Anointing. A caricature appeared, which represented Napoleon, in the character of a strolling posture-master, preparing to dance on the tight-rope, while the Pope, dressed as clown, stood beneath and chalked the soles of his feet.

and was allowed to consecrate the insignia ; but the Iron Crown of Lombardy, the distinctive symbol of royal power, was, like the diadem of France, placed on Napoleon's head by his own hand.*

He did not leave the peninsula till he had not only organized the government and constitution of his own kingdom of Italy, but completed material changes on the adjacent states. Before the coronation, the Doge and Senate of Genoa, warned that the independence of the Ligurian Republic could not be guaranteed, and jealously averse, it is said, to a union with the new kingdom, petitioned for annexation to France. Their lord condescendingly granted the prayer which he had himself dictated ; and the formal incorporation was completed in October 1805. In March of the same year, the principality of Piombino had been given to his sister Elisa Buonaparte, as a fief of the French empire ; and in July the territories belonging to the republic of Lucca were erected into another principality for her husband, Pasquale Bacciochini. The only parts of Upper Italy that remained unappropriated were the provinces of the Ex-duke of Parma, which, though occupied by the French, were not formally incorporated either with the empire or the kingdom of Italy. The viceroyalty of the latter was conferred on Eugene Beauharnois, the son of the Empress Josephine. None of the great powers in Europe acknowledged the new kingdom, and indeed none of them was asked to do so.†

* Botta, lib. xxii. tom. iv. p. 175-193. Alison's French Revolution, vol. iv. p. 283. Scott's Life of Napoleon, vol. v. p. 170-174. Pöllitz, vol. ii. p. 386. Coraccini, *Histoire de l'Administration du Royaume d'Italie*; Paris, 1823; p. 34-39. Denina, *Italia Occidentale*, tom. v. p. 327-329. "This part of the ceremonial," says Denina, referring to the emperor's putting on the crown with his own hand, "differed from the ancient usage. It left no room for supposing that the crowned monarch acknowledged himself to derive from any other than God, or the power which by the Divine will he held in his hands, that proud ensign of sovereignty, of which he thus publicly took possession."

† Botta, lib. xxii. tom. iv. pp. 189, 193-204 Denina. *Italia Occidentale*, tom. v. p. 332-336.

The legitimate sovereigns did not leave their plebeian brother to enjoy unmolested so much as the first year of his reign. An invasion of Italy under the Archduke Charles ended in the defeat of the Austrians by Massena upon the Adige ; and in December 1805 the great battle of Austerlitz forced the Emperor Francis to conclude the unfavourable treaty of Presburg. In respect to the Italian peninsula, he acknowledged Napoleon's kingly title, and acquiesced in all his other arrangements ; but, farther, he was compelled to surrender Venice with its provinces as he had received them at the peace of Campo-Formio, consenting that they should be united with the kingdom of Italy. In January 1806, the island-city was occupied by French troops under General Miollis, the agent usually deputed to execute tasks which required a union of resolution with prudence and good temper. The formal decree of annexation was issued in March following ; but at the same time the new kingdom lost the principality of Massa-Carrara, which was added to Lucca. It may be also noticed that Dalmatia and Istria, although at this time made parts of the kingdom, were detached from it in 1809, and incorporated with France.

Napoleon seized the opportunity of the new acquisition, for founding that hereditary noblesse with Italian titles, whose ranks were speedily filled by his most useful servants civil as well as military. There were specified certain districts which the emperor reserved the right of erecting into Dukedoms, appropriating to their titular possessors a fifteenth part of the revenues derived from the provinces in which they lay, and setting aside for the same purpose the price of large tracts of national lands. In Parma and Piacenza were to be three of these fiefs ;—in Naples, recently conquered, six ;—and in the Venetian provinces, twelve, among which were Dalmatia, Treviso, Bassano, Vicenza, Rovigo, and other demesnes whose titles acquired a new interest from the celebrity of the men who bore them. Two other dukedoms, conferred respectively on Marshal Bernadotte and

the minister Talleyrand, were formed from the papal districts of Pontecorvo and Benevento. The Emperor of the French, now lord paramount of the kingdom enclosing these territories, seized them without troubling himself to invent any pretext ; coolly assuring the pope that the loss would be compensated afterwards, but that the nature of the indemnification would materially depend upon the holy father's good behaviour.*

The King of Naples, lately the abject vassal of the French, had allowed a body of Russians and English to land without resistance. Cardinal Ruffo, who resented the tragedy of 1799, and despised the intriguing of Acton, was sent to deprecate the conqueror's wrath, but returned home a confirmed Buonapartist ; and Napoleon, who wanted a throne for one of his brothers, proclaimed to his soldiers that the dynasty of the Bourbons in Lower Italy had ceased to reign. His army crossed the frontier in January 1806, upon which the king fled to Sicily : his haughty wife lingered to the last moment, and then reluctantly followed. Joseph Buonaparte, meeting no resistance except from the foreigners who composed the garrison of Gaeta, entered the metropolis early in February, and, after quietly hearing mass said by Ruffo in the church of Saint Januarius, was proclaimed King of Naples and Sicily. After some fighting, chiefly in Calabria, the whole country within the Faro of Messina submitted to its new sovereign, although in several districts the allegiance was but nominal. In the following summer Sir Sidney Smith took Capri, and prevailed on Sir John Stuart to land in the Calabrian Gulf of Saint Eufemia ; but the only result was the brilliant victory gained by the British regiments over the French at Maida. The royalist partisans disgraced their cause by cruelties which no exertions of the English officers were able to stop ; and, after the enemy had increased mate-

* Saalfeld, *Geschichte Napoleon's*, vol. i. p. 551. Coraccini, p. 125. Schoell, *Archives Historiques et Politiques*, 3 tomes ; Paris, 1819 : tome ii. p. 157 :—Letter of Alquier, the French envoy at Rome, 17th June 1806, to Casoni, the cardinal-secretary.

rially in strength, the expedition was compelled to return to Sicily.*

During that year Napoleon was occupied with the war against Prussia, which was terminated by the battle of Jena; and in 1807 he had commenced his system of intrigue in Spain, the first fruit of which was another appropriation in Italy. The widowed Queen of Etruria, who acted as regent for her son Charles-Louis, was unceremoniously ejected from his states, which in May 1808 were formed into three departments of France, while the Princess of Piombino was established at Florence with the title of Grand Duchess of Tuscany. About the same time,—upon the proposal or pretext that the Bourbons of Parma should be made sovereigns of Portugal,—their duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, were finally annexed to France.

The principal event of that year was the opening campaign of the French in Spain and Portugal. The schemes of the military autocrat in that quarter, destined to be the first step in his road to destruction, led him to recall his brother Joseph from the throne of Naples, which, on his leaving Italy for Madrid, was bestowed on Joachim Murat, grand duke of Berg and Clèves, one of the emperor's bravest generals, and husband of his sister Caroline. The new king's only title was an edict issued by Napoleon at Bayonne, on the 15th of July 1808, in which he announces that he has granted to Joachim the throne of Naples and Sicily, vacant by the accession of Joseph to that of Spain and the Indies. The showy and gallant soldier began his reign by driving Sir Hudson Lowe out of the island of Capri; and when the Carbonari, a sect of republicans recently organized, had co-operated with the royalists in raising disturbances throughout Calabria, he sent into the province his countryman, General Manhés, recommended for such service

* Botta, lib. xxii. tom. iv. p. 232-250. Colletta, lib. v. cap. 3. tom. i. p. 503-520; lib. vi. cap. i. tom. ii. p. 1-20. Alison's French Revolution, vol. iv. p. 644-649. Orloff, Mémoires sur Naples, tome ii. p. 228-240.

by having previously pacified, or depopulated, the Abruzzi. The envoy, executing his commission with heartless severity, made that secluded region orderly and peaceful, for the first time perhaps in its modern history.

The next year overturned the papal throne. The turmoil which the Revolution raised in the Gallican church had been quieted by the concordat of 1801 ; but a code of regulations issued by the First Consul for carrying the principles of that compact into effect in France, and a decree issued by the vice-president Melzi for the same purpose in Lombardy, had been both disavowed by Pius as unauthorized by him, and as contrary not only to the spirit of the concordat, but to the principles of the church of Rome. The reconciliation which ensued was but hollow; and Napoleon determined that his dominion over Italy, now extending from one end of the peninsula to the other, should not be defied by a poor and petty sovereign, occupying the heart of the country. This was a strong reason in secular policy for displacing the pope ; and a reason yet stronger might have been found in the advantages likely to arise to the Catholic religion, if its first bishop should be removed from that anomalous position, which the experience of centuries had proved to be equally injurious to the temporal interests of his subjects and to the vigour and purity of his church. But the former of these arguments was one which could not be openly avowed ; and the other was never more than incidentally hinted. The design was prosecuted with arrogant and studied insult ; and the papal state was openly claimed as a fief held under Napoleon, the successor of Charlemagne. The remonstrances of Pius on ecclesiastical matters, indeed, while they were dictated by a dangerous spirit of bigotry, were urged in a tone that could not have failed to irritate a temper like that of the emperor. Not only was the law of divorce, as introduced by the Code Napoleon, declared by the pontiff to be contrary both to the laws of the church and to the precepts of the Bible, but the unlimited

toleration of Dissenters and Jews was denounced as a sin disgracing a Christian state. To declarations like these, and to the incessant difficulties stated as to the investiture of the bishops, the conqueror of Austerlitz at length replied by reminding his Holiness of what, upon less provocation than his, other sovereigns had done in northern Europe.* The pope found better and more honourable grounds for refusing to obey the next requirement, that he should enter into an alliance defensive and offensive against all the enemies of the French empire. He answered that he was the servant of the God of peace, the enemy of no Christian nation.

Cardinal Consalvi, the papal secretary of state, was denounced as a secret adherent of the legitimists, and his master was forced to dismiss him. Probably his real offences were, that moderate temper and that skill in business which Napoleon well knew him to possess, and which would have been likely to preserve his court from any very dangerous error. No such objection lay to those who in succession took his place, the Cardinals Sommaglia, Casoni, Gabrielle, and, the fiercest of them all, the Capuchin Cardinal Pacca. Consalvi had been

* In 1807, when the disputes as to the investitures were at their height, Napoleon wrote to the viceroy Eugene a letter which, although professedly confidential, the prince had secret orders to lay before Pius in pretended alarm. It contained, amongst others, the following passages :—“ So ! the pope persists in his refusal. He will open his eyes when it is too late. What would he have ? What does he mean to do ? Will he place my kingdoms under the spiritual interdict ? Is he ignorant how much times are changed ? Does he take me for a second Louis-le-Débonnaire, and does he believe that his excommunications will make the weapons fall from the hands of my soldiers ? What would he say if I were to separate from Catholicism the greater part of Europe ? I should have better reasons for doing so than Henry the Eighth had. Let the pope think well of it. Do not let him force me to propose, and to enforce in France and elsewhere, a worship more rational than that of which he is the chief. This would be less difficult than he thinks, in the present state of men’s ideas, and when so many eyes have been opened, for half a century, to the iniquities and follies of his clergy.”—Coraccini, p. 148. Mémoires du Cardinal Pacca, sur la Captivité du Pape Pie VII. Paris, 1833 ; tome i. p. 283.

reluctantly compelled to raise, in reference to Joseph Buonaparte's crown, the question of the feudal dependence of Naples on the Holy See, a claim which had been wisely compounded in the last century by Tanucci and Clement the Fourteenth. The zealots, however, who now ruled in the Vatican, not only pushed this irritating demand beyond all bounds of prudence, but, at the very moment when the French envoy Alquier watched eagerly for an occasion to take offence, they made a state-quarrel out of the Borghese gallery of statues. The owner having sold these antiques to Napoleon, the authorities refused to allow their removal, alleging, quite truly yet very foolishly, that they were not only heirlooms tied up by a family entail, but could not be lawfully exported without the pope's special consent. On the religious questions at issue, several of which were assuredly of vital importance to Catholicism, the advisers of Pius easily trained his mind to the opinions they wished.* The conscience of the excellent old man was deeply alarmed ; his spirit rose with each new affront ; and he was prepared to submit to every calamity rather than retract a single hairsbreadth. When such were the dispositions on both sides, the catastrophe could not be long delayed.†

* Mémoires du Cardinal Pacca, tome i., *passim*. Botta, lib. xxi. xxiii. tom. iv. pp. 88-110, 286-319. Schoell, Archives, tomes ii. iii. *passim*.

† The position of the two parties, in the last stages of the controversy, in reference to the most interesting of the ecclesiastical questions, is best seen from a circular which, on the 5th of February 1808, Pius addressed to the cardinals. He enumerates eight demands of Napoleon, all of which he had considered himself bound to reject. The disputes as to the collation and powers of the bishops have not much interest for us. The refusal to acknowledge Joseph's title as king of Naples was now rested exclusively on the prior right of Ferdinand, about which, in the diplomatic correspondence, little or nothing had been said. The order to introduce the French code into the Papal State was an arrogant assumption which the pope, if he had been stronger, would have been right in rejecting, as he did, with scorn, whether his religious objections to it had been good or not. Other articles are the following :—“ 3. The government of France demands that we shall allow the free

In January 1808, seven thousand soldiers under Miollis, professing to march for Naples, turned aside and seized Rome. The power of the state was virtually usurped by the French officers; and in April an imperial decree, founding its reasons on the pope's refusal of the alliance, on the danger of leaving an unfriendly power to cut off communication in the midst of Italy, and on the paramount sovereignty of Charlemagne, annexed irrevocably to the kingdom of Italy the four papal provinces of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino. Pius warned all men, laics and ecclesiastics, not to take the oaths to the new government upon pain of excommunication: confusion and discord prevailed; and very soon Napoleon, having prostrated the power of Austria by the battle of Wagram, saw no reason for longer keeping terms with his Holiness.

In May 1809, he dated from the palace of Schönbrunn at Vienna, where he was about to become the son-in-law of the Catholic emperor Francis, a decree which annexed to the French empire those provinces of the Papal State which had not been already seized. The pope was to receive an annuity of two millions of francs, and to confine his attention to the proper duties of his episcopal office. Pius issued a very firm manifesto, went through the foolish form of excommunicating Napoleon and all ecclesiastics who should obey him, and then, retiring to the inmost rooms of the Quirinal Palace, caused the outer doors to be walled up and the inner ones to be

public exercise of all forms of worship. This article is opposed to the canons and the councils, to the Catholic religion, and (on account of the fatal consequences which would result from it) to the tranquillity and happiness of the state. We have rejected it." * * * " 6. It is insisted that we should decree the general abolition of the monastic orders of both sexes. We have no motive for doing so: on the contrary, we believe that it is our duty to preserve the orders, and even to propagate them. 7. It is demanded that we shall abolish the celibacy of the clergy, and permit persons consecrated to religion to marry, notwithstanding their solemn vow. This demand is contrary to the holiness and the purity of religion; it is in opposition to engagements contracted in good faith with God himself."—Schoell, Archives, tome iii. p. 159-167.

bolted and locked. On the night between the 5th and 6th of July, the French soldiers and the police broke into his apartments, and seized his person ; on which he was again required to acquiesce in the decree, and, refusing, was hurried into a carriage and conveyed northward. He was transported into France, and thence back to Savona, where he was kept a close prisoner till 1811. Meanwhile a commission, composed partly of Italians, partly of French, organized the papal provinces annexed to France ; and the inhabitants expressed their satisfaction at the change through a deputation sent across the Alps for the purpose, at the head of which was the Duke Braschi, the nephew of Pius the Sixth. Indeed, whatever disinclination they might have had to the French or to any other foreign rule, their discontent with their old master had lately been loud and universal ; the taxation every where had been oppressive to an unexampled degree ; and the citizens of Rome had recently refused to salute the pope when he passed through the streets.*

From the date of these events till the gathering of the clouds which, about 1812, began to darken around the Theodoric of the nineteenth century, there occurred within the Alps nothing that merits detailed description. In June 1810, the kingdom of Italy received its last accession of territory, the Southern or Italian Tyrol being then incorporated with it.

Here, therefore, we may conveniently turn aside from the continuous narrative of wars and revolutions, to investigate the internal state of the peninsula and its islands, during the ten years of Napoleon's rule. For a considerable time in the midst of this period, that was literally true which was said of him by one of his most abject flatterers ;—that the legions which obeyed the

* All the facts contained in this sentence are stated unequivocally by Cardinal Pacca himself; *Mémoires*, tome i. pp. 33, 34. He merely excuses the oppressive taxation by saying, truly enough, that heavy expenses, never reimbursed, had been incurred in maintaining the French armies on their marches, and during their occupation of the state. See also Denina, tom. vi. p. 14.

greatest Roman emperors were not so numerous, as the sovereigns who held their thrones on the tenure of his permission.* In his policy towards the nations that lay more immediately under his sceptre, we shall see the lord of the continental world in a light which, if not altogether free from shadows, is yet far more pleasing than his relation to the crowned heads of Europe.

INTERNAL STATE OF ITALY AND ITS ISLANDS DURING THE PERIOD OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE.

It appears, as the result of the events which have now been summarily related, that, from the middle of 1810 till the fall of Napoleon in 1814, the political divisions of Italy were the following.

The mainland was divided into four sections, or, more properly, into three, since Lucca falls really under the first. 1. A large proportion of it had been incorporated with France, whose territories on the western coast now stretched southward to the frontier of Naples. These Italian provinces of the French empire lay chiefly on the western side of the Apennine, where they included the following districts:—Nice, with Savoy, since 1792; Piedmont, since 1802; Genoa, since 1805; Tuscany, since 1808; and the western provinces of the Roman See, since 1809. On the north-east of the mountain-chain, France had only Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, which were annexed to it in 1808. Within the Neapolitan frontier it had the duchies of Benevento and Pontecorvo. 2. On the western side of the mountains, the imperial territory was interrupted by the little independent principality comprehending Lucca and Massa-Carrara. This petty state, however, was possessed by members of the emperor's family, and was practically one of his French provinces. 3. Central and Eastern Lombardy, with some districts of the Alps, and a part of the peninsula proper, composed the Kingdom of Italy, of

* Montgaillard, *Du Rétablissement du Royaume d'Italie*, p. 257.

which Napoleon wore the crown. Its territories comprehended, first, the whole of Austrian Lombardy ; secondly, the Valtelline, with Chiavenna and Bormio ; thirdly, Venice and its mainland provinces, from the Ogglio on the west to the Isonzo, which had been latterly fixed as the eastern frontier ; fourthly, that part of the Tyrol which forms the valley of the Adige ; fifthly, the territories of the Dukes of Modena and Reggio, except Massa-Carrara ; sixthly, the papal provinces of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, of Urbino, Macerata, Camerino, and Ancona. 4. The Kingdom of Naples consisted of the same provinces on the mainland which had been governed by the Bourbons ; and since the year 1806, it had been ruled by sovereigns belonging to the imperial family of France.—The legitimate monarchs still possessed the two great islands ; the Ex-king of Naples holding Sicily, the King of Sardinia the isle which gave him his title.

There were so many differences in the position occupied by the several sections of the mainland, as to make it convenient that their political and statistical relations should be examined separately ; but certain prominent features were common to all. In particular, it may be unhesitatingly asserted, that the country suffered much less than France, and profited much more, by the whole system of the imperial government.

To the Neapolitan as well as the Papal states, no change of masters or of polity could at the time of the revolution have been an evil ; the Venetian provinces, likewise, were then ill-governed and oppressed ; upon Lombardy, the leaden hand of Austria had again begun to lie heavy ; and in Tuscany itself there was much that required amendment, both in the character of the new rulers and in that of the people. The spirit of local jealousy, too, and the total want of military spirit not less than of national pride, were things that the revolution aided powerfully in rooting out, although the Italians paid dearly for the benefit. The resources of the country,

in agriculture and in manufactures, were developed with a success which nothing in its modern history had yet paralleled ; and the prosperity was checked only, and driven into new channels, by that unwise and revengeful policy by which Napoleon for years, beginning with the Berlin decree of 1806, attempted to place the British empire and its colonies in a state of blockade. Even that arbitrary temper which, in the later years of his reign, converted his rule into an unmixed despotism, was never shown on the south of the Alps with the same fierceness which it assumed in the other provinces of his kingdom. In his secret soul, Napoleon Buonaparte was proud of that southern pedigree which, by every artifice down to the petty trick of mis-spelling his family-name, he strove to make his Transalpine subjects forget : himself an Italian in feeling, much rather than a Frenchman, he understood and sympathized with the character of his countrymen, in its weakness as well as in its strength, in its capacities for improvement as well as in its symptoms of decay : he flattered the populace, he breathed his own fiery spirit into the army, he honoured the learned and scientific, he employed and trusted those intelligent men who panted for a field of political action. He taught the people to feel themselves a mighty nation ; and those whom he so ennobled have not yet forgotten their stern benefactor. If Napoleon chastised Italy with whips, he chastised France with scorpions ; and the one region not less than the other has profited by the wholesome discipline.

The Italian Provinces annexed to France.

The conversion of the western provinces, as far south as Terracina, into integral portions of France, was one of the most questionable parts of the conqueror's Italian policy. That public feeling which gave strength and prosperity to the other states, was here never forcibly enough developed : national pride was wounded, and private interests were injured ; and neither in character nor in

statistics did these territories exhibit an improvement at all equal to that which appeared elsewhere.

In the several regions, it is true, both the annexation and the measures which followed on it were regarded with very different feelings. After the fall of the popedom, an attempt was made to give unity and a show of independence to the Italian provinces of the empire, by uniting them into one general government, the administration of which, conferred at first on Louis Buonaparte, was afterwards given to the Prince Borghese, the head of a noble Roman family of the first rank, who had married Pauline, one of the emperor's sisters. The country was divided on the same system as France, the districts being severally placed under magistrates appointed by the crown, and accountable to it alone, but also in subordination to each other ; Prefects being put over the Departments, a Sub-prefect over each Arrondissement or Circondario, and a Maire over each Commune. For Piedmont, which had felt its numberless local functionaries a grievance, and which by custom as well as character was less indisposed to France than to its southern neighbours, no part of this arrangement was likely to prove distasteful ; in Genoa and the Parmese duchies, the change was more violent and unpopular ; but in the Papal provinces, discontent had risen so high against the ecclesiastical rulers, that every innovation was considered a blessing.

In the choice of the French ministers who organized this new system, Napoleon was usually fortunate, with such exceptions only as Menou and some others. Degerando, scarcely less able as a statesman than as a philosopher, was one of the principal agents both in Genoa and Rome ; and the arrangement of the finances in Tuscany and the papal states was intrusted to Baron Janet, who executed the task to the satisfaction of all parties. The public debt was discharged in both these provinces, chiefly through the sale of the domains which had belonged to the suppressed ecclesiastical establishments, and were now called "national." The

French scheme of taxation was introduced, with very slight modifications ; and in 1812, the Italian provinces (excluding Nice) yielded to the exchequer fully half as much as was contributed by all the other territories lately added to the empire, including as these did some of the richest commercial cities in Europe. The gross sum raised by taxes of all kinds during that year was 95,712,349 francs, or nearly four millions sterling, which gave 62,644,560 francs as the net return to the treasury : and it is worthy of notice, likewise, that the cost of collection here was considerably less, in proportion, than in the other recent acquisitions.* The revenue was liberally spent,—in organizing efficient courts of law, (whose text-book was of course the Code Napoleon,)—in executing works of usefulness as well as pomp, such as roads, bridges, and public buildings,—in investigating the antiquities of Rome and other places,—and in advancing arts and manufactures, by premiums and similar encouragements.

The French Kingdom of Italy.

It is in the provinces which composed Napoleon's Lombard kingdom, that we have the best opportunities of estimating his influence on Italy. The population of this state amounted, in the later years of its existence, to about 6,700,000 ; its territories embraced several of the finest districts in the peninsula ; and the inhabitants in general ranked higher than any of their countrymen, both for general intelligence and political activity.†

* Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte, 2 tomes, Paris, 1826 : tome i. pp. 227, 246-248, 303-311. In the year 1812, the gross sums contributed by the several Italian divisions were the following :—I. Piedmont, 33,388,552 francs. II. The Duchies of Parma, 7,093,074. III. The Genoese provinces, 16,199,346. IV. Tuscany, 22,561,427. V. The annexed Papal Provinces, 16,469,948.

† The leading details of the statistics and administration in the kingdom of Italy, may be gathered from two works, written with very different views :—Coraccini's *Histoire du Royaume d'Italie*, already cited ; and Count Pecchio's *Saggio Storico sulla Am-*

The first point that attracts our notice is the Constitution of the kingdom, whose details were embraced in a statute of June 1805, supplementary to two preceding edicts.* It was exceedingly like the French, except in the preservation of the Colleges of Electors. Three of its eight sections treat of the royal palaces, the civil list and appanages, the regulations for the viceroy, and the rules of a new order of knighthood, whose badge was to be Napoleon's Iron Crown, with its famous motto, "God hath given it to me : Wo be to him that toucheth it!" It was declared that the constitution of 1802 should subsist, so far as not repealed by the new charter or found inconsistent with it. The three electoral colleges, however, were altered in this respect, that all the members who resided in the same department were to meet together, and form one chamber. Besides nominating, as before, candidates for the Legislative Body, they were to name those for the offices of Judges of the Peace, and also for General Councils which were to be formed in each department. The election of these councils is not farther explained in the statute; but they were to be modelled on the departmental councils founded, under the French constitution of 1799, by a senatus-consultum of 1802. According to this direction, then, the electoral college of the department was to present for the king's choice two candidates on every vacancy in the council, of whose members one-third were to go out of office every five years.

The Legislative Body might be dissolved by the king, who in that case was obliged to summon the colleges,

ministrazione Finanziaria del Ex-Regno d'Italia, dal 1802 al 1814 ; 2d edition, London, 1826. The former is a lively and exaggerated picture of the evils inflicted by the French domination ; the latter, written with its author's usual ability in questions of political economy, is a temperate and detailed review of the statistical position of the country, from which, though disapproving warmly the arbitrary temper of Napoleon's government, Pecchio deduces conclusions decidedly favourable to its effects on industry as well as national character.

* The second and third are in Pöllitz, vol. ii. p. 386-394.

within six months, for a new election ; and a standing committee of members was substituted for the board of Speakers. An annual fund of three hundred thousand lire, or £9140, was appropriated for all expenses, including the maintenance of the buildings, allowances to the members, and salaries to the functionaries. The matters about which the Legislative Body was entitled to deliberate were specially described under six heads :—The canvassing of the annual budgets, or accounts of the state-receipt and expenditure ; the regulation of the military conscription ; the alienation of the national property ; the currency and coinage ; alterations in the public taxes, consisting either in imposing new burdens, or in regulating the old ones ; and the change of particular laws in the civil, penal, and commercial codes. All other questions of public business were declared to be prerogatives of the government.

The administration, under the king or viceroy, was devolved on the Ministers, with the advice of a Council of State, which was composed, indeed, of three separate sections, all of whose members, as well as the ministry, were named by the king. The council had consultative votes, but not deliberative ; that is, the crown might accept or reject their resolutions at pleasure : and their honorary titles, privileges, rank, and salaries, were sops thrown to lull asleep the unquiet leaders of the Italian Republic. The first section, called the Council of the Consultors, contained eight members, with salaries of 25,000 lire, or £760, who considered, when the king condescended to ask their advice, constitutional questions and foreign treaties. The second, the Legislative Council, had twelve members, with salaries of 15,000 lire, and assisted in preparing bills for the legislature, and other measures for the administration. The third, the Council of the Auditors, consisted of eighteen councillors, having salaries of 6000 lire : their functions were various, but chiefly related to the management of the courts of law, and the regulation of property belonging to the communes, or to charitable and religious corporations.

The history of the constitution, however, was not yet closed ; and its last chapter was strongly characteristic of the imperious sovereign. In July of the very first year of the new monarchy, the draft of a law for imposing taxes on registers was laid before the Legislative Body for approval. The members unanimously objected to its details, and the viceroy transmitted their resolutions to Paris. The answer to the remonstrance was, the instant despatch of a courier, bearing an order for proroguing the legislature ; the unpopular law was passed by the royal prerogative ; and the government chose to forget the rule which bound it to summon the elective colleges within six months after the prorogation. Next, in the budget for 1806, as framed at Milan, the stipulated grant for the Legislative Body was included among the other particulars ; but, when the draft, sent to France for approval, returned to the south, it was found that this branch of the estimates had been erased without remark. No remonstrance was ventured ; and the faint shadow of popular representation vanished from the Kingdom of Italy. But the removal of all check on the expenditure seemed, even to Napoleon, to be a dangerous defiance of public opinion ; and in the end of 1807, abolishing the council of Consultors, he substituted for it a body called the Consultative Senate (nominated, of course, by the crown), whose functions were gradually extended by successive decrees, till they were finally fixed in 1809. This Senate was empowered to examine the estimates and all the accounts of the ministers, and, generally, to act as the sole authorized medium for communicating to the sovereign “the wishes and necessities of the nation.” From that time, year after year, the budget was regularly submitted to the Senate, and as regularly returned with a unanimous resolution, that its contents did not call for any remark.*

The organization into departments, arrondissements,

* Coraccini, pp. 57, 110 ; and Chronological Table, under Dec. 1807, Feb. 1808, Nov. 1809, &c. Pecchio, pp. 31, 64, 65.

and communes, with their corresponding array of prefects, sub-prefects, and maires, all appointed by the government, had been proclaimed in 1805, for the provinces which then formed the kingdom, and was successively extended to each of the new acquisitions. Two commissions appointed to carry into effect that provision of the charter which declared, that the French codes should not be introduced till they had been subjected to such alteration as might assimilate them better to the local peculiarities, reported on certain changes as in their opinion necessary. The emperor, remarking that he thought the commissioners quite wrong, ordered the codes to be introduced without modification ; and, arbitrary as was this method of imposing the new law-book, nothing which Napoleon did for Italy was half so distinguished a benefit. Another importation from France was the military conscription, which, in some particulars advantageous, was in most respects a severe evil. The annual levies ordered during the six years which ended with 1814, amounted in all to 98,000 men, rising from 6000 in 1806, to 15,000, which was the demand during each of the last four years ; but only a portion of these troops were ever called into active service. Still the emperor's foreign wars, especially those in Spain and Russia, cost to his Cisalpine provinces the lives of thousands. During the six years which commence with 1808, he sent into Spain alone, according to a recent Milanese writer, 30,183 Italian conscripts, of whom no more than 8958 returned home. The loss in Russia was still more severely felt, because it fell chiefly on those youths of good family whom Napoleon forced to serve as " Royal Velites," or guards of honour, and who, in that character, were forced to accompany him on his northern campaign. Educated effeminately, and unaccustomed to hardship, these young men perished by hundreds ; and in December 1812, there was scarcely a household of consideration in Lombardy that did not wear mourning. Akin to this branch of the military system, was the rule of constantly quartering within the kingdom a French

army 30,000 strong, for whose support and equipment the exchequer paid annually, since the annexation of Venice, a subsidy of thirty millions of francs. This imposition, although disguised under specious names, was a bitter mortification to the national pride ; but the sum was spent entirely within the state ; additional supplies came from France, to be also expended there in procuring provisions, arms, and accoutrements ; and, in its effects upon trade and manufactures, the intrusion of the foreign troops was in some degree beneficial.*

In reference to education and religion, also, Italy found herself in circumstances very similar to those of France. For the instruction of the people at large, good plans were promulgated, which in few particulars were executed at all ; but for the middle and higher ranks, the schools and colleges were numerous and excellent, although they were organized in the same military fashion as the French. In matters relating to the church, the most important steps affected the Monastic orders, which, reduced to a small number in 1805, were absolutely suppressed in 1810, their members receiving pensions. The secular clergy, in whose organization Napoleon never allowed himself to be hampered by those obstacles which arose out of the obstinate resistance of the captive pope, were brought strictly under the control of that government from which they derived their subsistence. Something was done, but not nearly enough, for making up to an adequate sum the incomes of the curates in rural parishes ; and as to the very insufficient education which the inferior clergymen received, no change was attempted except that of fixing, for every ecclesiastical seminary, the utmost number of pupils who were to be exempted from the conscription. The priests in the country, previously far from being well instructed, remained as ignorant as before ; those

* Alison's French Revolution, vol. iv. p. 637. Biographie Universelle, tome lvii. p. 375 ; (Supplement, art. Beauharnois, Eugene). Coraccini, p. 84. Pecchio, p. 103. Part of the thirty millions, likewise, was spent on the arsenal at Venice.

in the towns, and the higher dignitaries in general maintained that character for intelligence and learning which they had so long possessed ; and all classes among the ministers of the church, if they were now less orthodox believers in the distinctive tenets of Italian Catholicism, and less faithful servants of the papal see, were compelled by the difficulty of their position to become more pure as well as more prudent in their moral deportment. Gamboni, patriarch of Venice, a man especially high in Napoleon's good graces, who had been in his youth one of the gayest among Pius the Sixth's clerical courtiers, distinguished himself at the same time by his extensive and well-directed charity, by the liberality of his toleration to other sects, and by the strict discipline which he exercised over his own clergy.

In regard to the liberty of the press, the emperor-king deviated in appearance, but not in reality, from the system he pursued in France. There the rule was, open and avowed obstruction ; here liberty was proclaimed in words, and allowed in all ordinary cases, down at least to the very last years of the empire ; but, when dangerous opinions were published, their authors were punished arbitrarily and severely, to strike terror into others. In the middle of 1806, a decree of the viceroy declared, that no literary censorship should be instituted ; but a board was formed, to which writers, who might wish to avoid all chance of molestation, were invited to submit their works before publication. Shortly afterwards, the celebrated Melchiorre Gioja printed a pamphlet, called “The Poor Devil,” which was really a gross libel on the Marquis Brême, lately appointed minister of the interior ; upon which, without being subjected to any trial, he was summarily banished from the kingdom. When the annexation of Tuscany to France was suspected, but not yet announced, one Lattanzi, the editor of a magazine of fashions at Milan, ventured to insert a paragraph, stating, that “the destinies of Etruria seemed to have reached maturity.” Napoleon, on being informed of this indiscreet comment upon his designs, gravely remarked, that

the poor man must be insane ; and, accordingly, he was punished by a short confinement in a madhouse. In spite of such insulated acts of oppression, literature in all its branches, from philosophical treatises to magazines and news-sheets, flourished and extended itself ; a taste for reading became universally diffused, and the works which ministered to this desire did no discredit to the age that produced them. Imperial favour was extended to literature, though capriciously and rarely ; while practical science was encouraged with Napoleon's characteristic liberality. Fossumbroni, and other Italian engineers, became useful servants to the government ; Volta and Oriani were pensioned, as was Cesarotti, the translator of Ossian's poems, a favourite book with the emperor ; and the versatile Monti was appointed historiographer royal ; but the Abbé Ferloni, who had been one of the most efficient instruments in swaying the public mind on the ecclesiastical questions of the day, was allowed to starve in a garret at Milan, and the announcement of a petty pension reached him only on his deathbed, when, as he himself bitterly said, the lamp had been left without oil till its wick was burned out.

The spirit of nationality was encouraged as far as the emperor's designs permitted, and grew up even faster than he could have wished. Prince Eugene, who had only attained the age of twenty-five when he was appointed to the vice-royalty, possessed tolerable abilities for administration, with a kindness and generosity which made him, like his mother, often throw himself intrepidly between Napoleon and the victims of his wrath. The Italians owed very much to the mildness with which he executed even the harshest of his step-father's ordinances. To make amends, however, for his inexperience, there was placed at his side, with the title of secretary, M. Méjan, a gay Frenchman, whose talents, first exhibited as a journalist in Paris during the storm of the revolution, were afterwards considered as equal to the most difficult tasks of diplomacy and government. The Lombards regarded this man with extreme jealousy ; but he does

not appear to have been guilty of any worse offence than an unhesitating subservience to the will of his master.

With no other prominent exception, all public employments were conferred on native Italians; though, in filling up the most important offices, a cautious discrimination was exercised, which excluded from place some whom the nation thought pre-eminently qualified. Among these suspected persons was Melzi, the vice-president of the republic, who was by far too bold and honest to be a servant of the empire in a conspicuous station, while his previous rank forbade him to accept any post but one of the very highest. He was loaded with commendation in public, flattered and caressed in private, created Duke of Lodi, with a liberal revenue, and elevated to an honorary sinecure as keeper of the seals; but he was studiously excluded from all share in the administration. Caprara, Litta, Fenaroli, Containi, and other men of family, were put on their probation for rank and power by being named to offices in the household, coupled with large salaries. The ministers of the republic at the time of its dissolution, among whom the most distinguished were, Marescalchi who directed foreign affairs, Pino who presided over the war-department, and Prina who administered the finances, were allowed to retain their places, except the minister of justice, who was succeeded by Luosi. Aldini, whose talents Napoleon estimated justly, though he was sometimes irritated by his independence, was appointed to reside in Paris, as a secretary of state for the kingdom, whose duty it was to communicate between the sovereign and the government at Milan. To inferior places under the ministry were appointed other public men of tried abilities; such as Guicciardi, Moscati, and Paradisi, who were made respectively directors-general of police, public instruction, and roads and bridges. In the same way, Barbo, Lambertenghi, and Pensa, were nominated directors-general for separate departments of the finances.

The higher classes were soon offered yet more dazzling

temptations. That restoration of hereditary aristocracy which was effected in France, took place in Italy likewise, by a decree of 1808, bestowing on the sovereign the power of conferring titles, and allowing the nobles so created to institute majorats, or devises of lands in favour of their eldest sons, or others whom they might select to transmit their honours. The republicans of Lombardy assumed a new character ; Count Paradisi performed his duties as president of the submissive senate, with a grace which Citizen Paradisi could never have reached ; and scarcely one of the others who have been lately named was allowed to remain a simple plebeian. The next step was the statute of 1812, which permitted those who had possessed feudal titles before the revolution, to demand new ones from the government, which was thus enabled both to conciliate a few admirers of ancient things, and to put into its coffers the dues exacted for reinvestiture.

We have yet to survey the Finances of the kingdom, that branch of its polity which, in both its departments, the receipt and the expenditure, has been more loudly blamed than any other. Part of the censure is fully deserved ; but very much of it is overcharged, and not a little is utterly unfounded. Two heavy faults pervaded the whole system : first, that multiplication of taxes, both in number and amount, which Napoleon, constantly immersed in foreign wars, imposed with a more direct view to the filling of his own exchequer than to the comfort or prosperity of his subjects ; secondly, that dependent situation of Lombardy which caused her interests to be sacrificed in several instances to those of France, and which would have injured her yet more deeply but for the prudence and spirit of some among her administrators, aided by the wisdom of the emperor himself, who not unfrequently interfered to protect Italy against the designs of his French counsellors.

The scheme of taxation substantially resembled that established beyond the Alps, differing from it only in

a few particulars. The unfortunate Count Prina, the minister of finance, who had been educated as a lawyer, and afterwards long employed in the royal exchequer at Turin, was able and dexterous rather than enlightened ; and an unscrupulous zeal in the service of his master not only led him to many acts both imprudent and unjust, but exposed him to a general unpopularity, which at length cost him his life. A dishonest or rapacious man he was not, but a severe minister he assuredly was.

The principal heads of taxation were the following :—
1. The Land-tax, although in Italy it has always borne, and still bears, a very large proportion to the other impositions, was fixed under the republic at a rate comparatively low, being intended to serve as the main resource should war at any time require extraordinary burdens. But, though the part of it that entered the general treasury was never extravagantly raised, another portion which the communes were allowed to impose for local purposes, became so large in consequence of the improvements planned every where, that it was found impossible to exact any thing more for the government. That the tax, however, was not excessive, was proved, it is said, both by the general prosperity of agriculture, and by the smallness of the arrears. An exception occurred in Friuli, where, chiefly through errors in the valuation, it turned out to be not only excessive but ill-apportioned, and caused infinite distress. 2. The Capitation-tax of Austrian Lombardy was retained, and became the subject of loud complaints by the poorer peasants. 3. There was also retained an impost similar to the Mercantile-tax of the Austrian system ; and the inquisitorial procedure necessary for assessing such a burden made it very unpopular among the middle classes. 4. The Customs were at first regulated by a tariff of 1803, in which the highest duty, leviable on articles of extreme luxury, was eight per cent., and the scheme in general was considered to err in little except its facilitating too much the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of foreign manufactures. The Continental System, begun by the

Berlin Decree of 1806, not only overthrew this liberal policy, but subjected northern Italy to several disadvantages in its commercial intercourse with France, which greatly injured both its silk-manufacture and its iron-works. Subsequent modifications diminished the hardship in some degree ; smuggling was carried on to an enormous extent ; and the amount of trade, though far inferior to that which it would have been but for the impolitic restrictions, yet became greater than it has been either before or since. 5. The duties of Excise, on articles of consumption, were much heightened immediately after the suppression of the Legislative Body ; but wages rose more than proportionally, and the condition of the labouring classes became better instead of worse. 6. Salt, saltpetre, and tobacco, were Government-Monopolies. 7. The ruinous expedient of Lotteries, infinitely more injurious on the continent than it has ever been among us, was encouraged in its most objectionable form, and became exceedingly profitable to the exchequer. 8. The Post-office was administered moderately till the last years of the empire, when the rates of postage were raised enormously, not so much with the view of gain, as in order to check the diffusion of political news. 9. The "Registro" included taxes payable on all transferences of property, and was regulated by a perplexed statute borrowed from a French one. 10. Stamp-duties were imposed on paper used in courts of law, on bills of exchange, on newspapers and other periodicals, and on playing-cards. 11. Certain old prerogatives, such as tolls at bridges and stamps on weights and measures, yielded also something to the government.*

* The following are the particulars of the sums yielded by each of these branches for the year 1811, being the first year after the extension of the kingdom to its utmost limits. I. Land-tax, 51,580,530 francs, or Italian lire. II. Capitation, 4,803,365. III. Taxes on commerce and the liberal professions, 1,723,301. IV. Customs, 13,175,973. V. Taxes on consumption in the towns or walled communes, 15,109,297 ; in the rural communes, 6,963,530 ; together, 22,072,827. VI. Monopolies ; salt, 21,016,889 ; tobacco,

The annual estimates to be defrayed from these various sources were increased in the course of Napoleon's reign by little less than a half. The budget for 1806 was 100,000,000 Milanese lire; in 1811 it had risen to 132,000,000, and for each of the years 1812 and 1813 it was fixed at 144,000,000.* The whole sum contributed to the treasury during the nine years which began with 1805, must have considerably exceeded a thousand millions of francs. It now remains only to describe the appropriation of the funds thus raised.

It has been already mentioned that thirty millions were expended annually, but within the kingdom, on the French army of occupation. Between the middle of 1805, and the new revolution of 1814, the ministry of the interior had expended upon the repair of old highways, and the construction of new ones, the immense sum of 75,000,000 francs. The famous military road over the Simplon cost 6,000,000 francs, of which the Italian government paid five millions, and the French one. Adding to these sums the maintenance of the highways, the expense of canals and embankments on the rivers, and the civil list of 6,000,000 Milanese lire annually, we can account for about five hundred millions of francs, or nearly one-half of the gross sum exacted.

No intention is here entertained of holding up the administration of the Italian kingdom as a model of economy. Although it collected its revenue at a much less expense than France then did, the ultimate application of its funds shared in the same character of an eager sacrifice of means to the end, which distinguished the military operations of its chief. But, when the facts already mentioned are taken in connexion with those others which present themselves in every department of the statistics, they furnish suffi-

7,931,085; together, 28,947,974. VII. Lotteries, 3,147,220. VIII. Post-office, 1,661,916. IX. Registers, 7,782,426. X. Stamps, 5,184,199. XI. Old prerogatives, 1,049,942. Sum of all the heads, 141,130,673 lire, or £5,645,000. Pecchio, p. 92.

* Coraccini, Chronological Table under the several dates.

cient reasons for denying vague assertions which hold out Napoleon's government as merely a selfish scheme of plunder.

The establishments for education cost the public a good deal ; the pensions to the ecclesiastics also amounted to a considerable charge ; the lavish allowances abstracted from the revenue to be given to the imperial dukes, and the liberal salaries granted to the higher of the public servants, absorbed a large sum annually ; and the pomp of the viceregal household was no small addition to the other national burdens. Premiums, models procured from abroad, and other encouragements, were unceasingly offered for improvements in the useful arts ; and liberal advances were repeatedly made to assist private speculators in executing the drainage of pestilential tracts, or in similar undertakings directly beneficial to the nation. Public buildings, new streets and squares, arose to beautify the capital and other cities ; but the greatest architectural undertaking of the reign, the completion of the cathedral of Milan, was in part defrayed from other sources. There was given for it a sum of 2,000,000 francs, from the appropriated estates of the monasteries. These lands, which were estimated to be worth 400,000,000 francs, were sold to as great an extent as possible, and the price was chiefly devoted to the liquidation of the national debt. Many agricultural advantages resulted from the change which thus transferred fertile districts from ignorant ecclesiastics to active and intelligent capitalists ; but it must be remarked, in passing, that neither this measure, nor the sale of the communal and other public domains, was attended in Italy with that effect which in France accompanied the alienation of such estates and of those abandoned by the emigrants. There the fall of the assignats enabled a large proportion of the peasantry to become petty landholders ; here no such cause operated to any material extent ; and the purchasers, whether nobles, public servants, or monied speculators, all belonged to the higher or middle ranks, and were few in number.

But emulation and energy were diffused through the whole people. The nobles forgot Spanish prejudice, and vied in activity, commercial as well as political, with the commoners who rose to distinction beside them. The plebeians, even after the aristocratic order was re-instituted, saw in it nothing but a section of their own class, and were encouraged at once by the equal rights which belonged to them as they stood, and by the easy access which wealth and public services then gave every man to the highest honours. The habits of the nation became expensive, but money was always to be found ; the conscription itself, and the military temper of the whole government, were, amidst all their evils, powerful instruments for awakening public spirit ; and, whatever the Lombards may have felt at the time, they now look back to the glory and activity of “The Kingdom” with a regret which has not lost much of its poignancy.*

The French Kingdom of Naples.

No charter defined the relations between the new line of Neapolitan kings and their subjects. Joseph, indeed, after leaving the country, published a constitution, but Joachim never acted upon it.

In the internal administration, however, the former executed radical changes, which were acquiesced in and extended by his successor.† Ferdinand, on recovering his throne in 1799, had punished the rebellious nobles by abolishing the patrician Piazze : Joseph, immediately on his accession, annulled all the remaining feudal laws at one sweep, and the complicated tribunals

* Alison’s French Revolution, vol. iv. p. 294. Pecchio, *passim*. Memoirs dictated at Saint Helena, vol. iv. p. 184.

† Orloff, tome ii. p. 391 ; tome iii. p. 207-234. Colletta, lib. vi. tom. ii. p. 1-77. Mémoires du Général Hugo, Paris, 1823, tome i. p. 163-188. Alison, vol. iv. p. 651. “No monarchy in Europe,” says Alison, “stood more in need of reformation than that of Naples when Joseph took possession of its throne. The administration of justice, the administration of the finances, the general police of the country, stood equally in need of amendment.”

fell along with them. The kingdom was divided into provinces, these into districts, and every district into communes. An Intendent, named by the sovereign, presided over every province ; and, according to a plan perfected by Murat, from a design of his predecessor, he was assisted by an administrative council, with votes consultative not deliberative, containing not more than three members. Every district was under a Sub-intendent, and in every commune that officer made up periodically a triple list of landholders, professional men, and the better class of artisans, from whom the king named a body called Decurions. These proposed for the royal approval the names of three persons as Syndic and Eletti, and this board formed the municipal administration of the Commune : it assessed the taxes, and represented its constituency in communications to the sovereign, and in all public matters. In the judicial department every province received a civil court of the first instance, and a criminal court. Four tribunals of appeal were erected for the whole kingdom, and these again were subordinate to a supreme Court of Cassation at Naples. The preservation of public order was intrusted to a general Minister of Police, under whom, for the metropolis and its territory, were fourteen commissaries. A fair land-tax was imposed ; the customs and excise were retained, but placed under a special board ; and the revenue, which had been pledged in advance, was redeemed from the national creditors, who received the security of government-funds. In 1806, when the redemption took place, the debt amounted to 427,144,375 francs, or £16,908,000.

The extrication of the revenues, here as elsewhere, was mainly effected by the assistance of the property which had belonged to the endowed monastic orders. The convents of these orders were suppressed, their members receiving moderate annuities for life. Three foundations only were excepted, all noted for their collections of archives,—those of Monte Cassino, the Trinità of La Cava, and Monte Vergine in the Terra di Lavoro ; and

even in these the libraries were merely placed under the charge of a fixed number of monks, who were pensioned by the state. By a grievous mistake, however, which gave much room for invidious remarks, the mendicant orders were allowed to subsist, as were also the nunneries. Institutions for education were planned, on good principles, and were better cared for than most similar establishments of the French in Italy. The normal schools, already introduced by Tanucci, were retained and somewhat improved; an elementary school for each sex was established, or designed to be established, in every commune; and thirty of this sort were founded in the capital. In all these the instruction was gratuitous. A college was founded in every province, as also a seminary for young females of the upper classes; and the course in the university of Naples was completed, by the endowment of chairs which were either wanting or unoccupied.

After we have observed measures so salutary, it is provoking to discover that their good effects, under Joseph, were almost quite neutralized by causes similar to those, of which some still operated elsewhere in Italy, while others had been but recently removed. The chief were, the presence and expense of a foreign army, and the employment of inefficient or dishonest officers under the government, an abuse which here lasted long after Napoleon's iron hand had crushed it every where else. Allied with this latter evil was a system of weak favouritism at court, and the two together led to the dilapidation of much public property. The ecclesiastical possessions, in particular, were grossly abused, although the accusations of this sort which the Italians, especially the clergy, now pour on the French, are so general as to be utterly incredible and absurd. It is quite well known that many works of art, and the contents of not a few conventional libraries, did disappear without being accounted for,—the fault lying either with the royal servants, with the monks, or with both.

Joachim, on ascending his tributary throne, showed faults in abundance; but on the whole he was better

advised, and far more honestly served. The arrangements were completed for introducing the Code Napoleon. The new scheme of national education was perfected by Count Zurlo, the able minister of the interior ; a general board was named for superintending public instruction throughout the kingdom ; and in 1814, more than 100,000 male children attended the communal schools. Agricultural societies were formed in every province ; several charitable institutions were founded, and others improved ; the National Institute, established by Joseph, continued to exist ; a general board of Direction of Public Works, composed of sixty-eight professional men, and connected with engineering schools, presided over local boards, of which there was one in every province ; and these boards executed or commenced every where a chain of roads, the completion or preservation of which might ere now have enabled the government to double its revenues. Under the charge of Count Mosbourg, the finances were extricated from a dangerous emergency, into which they had been thrown by the rashness of preceding ministers ; the state revenue was augmented ; the credit of the public funds was completely established ; and at Murat's fall the national debt incurred since the old liquidation amounted to no more than 800,000 ducats, or £132,500. This result, however, was not brought about without murmurs on the part of the people, who, besides furnishing subsidies and military contingents to France, were compelled, by the king's martial propensities, to support an expensive army of natives, and to see the soldiery monopolize the royal favour.

The Islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

In the mean time, while the whole peninsula was subject to the French emperor, or to his vassal-princes, the English had preserved Sicily for King Ferdinand.*

* Botta, lib. xxvi. tom. iv. p. 482-512. Colletta, lib. viii. cap. 2, tom. ii. pp. 306, 307.

When the court first removed to that island, the discontent of the lower orders was general ; and on its breaking out into violence at Messina and elsewhere, the Marquis Artali subdued the spirit of the people by cruelties which no remonstrances of the British could stop. Our countrymen, indeed, were not popular ; and they soon lost the favour of the imperious queen, who entered into secret dealings with Napoleon. The reckless extravagance of the court, rendering necessary an excessive taxation, completed the disgust of the nation ; and the barons, in their parliament of 1810, besides protecting themselves and others by refusing the supplies, except on conditions which made the collection of them all but impossible, voluntarily aided the popular cause, by abolishing many of their own feudal privileges. In this they certainly acted beyond their customary powers ; but the attempt was not on that account the less honourable. The Chevalier de' Medici, who had succeeded the deceased Acton in the royal favour, retired in alarm ; a new and more popular minister, the Sicilian Prince of Trebia, found it impossible to work against the intrigues of the court ; and a third adviser, of Caroline's own choosing, issued and tried to enforce royal edicts of taxation. The barons remonstrated with the king, and appealed to the committee of parliament which sat during the recess ; five of their leaders, the spirited Prince of Belmonte, the Princes of Aci, Villarmosa, and Villafranca, and the Duke of Anjou, were put in prison, threatened with the gibbet, and saved only by the firmness of Medici.

Matters were coming to a bloody crisis, when Lord William Bentinck, the new ambassador at Palermo, executed the resolutions of the English government. The queen was forced to consent that her husband should resign his power to his son, as Vicar or Regent, while Bentinck was named captain-general of Sicily. Parliament was summoned in 1812, and framed a charter which, after violent resistance from Caroline, was ratified by the Prince-vicar. Its principles were substantially those of our own constitution : and the barons, with a self-denial

for which the commoners ill requited them, farther annulled all the feudal privileges voluntarily and absolutely, at a heavy pecuniary loss to many of them. The king, instigated by his wife, made an unsuccessful attempt to resume the government ; and it was thought necessary that this intriguing woman should be forced to leave the island, which she did, and died at Vienna.

The general satisfaction with the new constitution and ministry was but short-lived. The popular party in the parliament began to encroach on the nobility, who repaid them in kind ; and the people at large murmured at the severe taxation which was necessary to support the court and the foreign troops, as well as to make up for the feudal dues taken away from the royal domain. The whole island was prepared gladly to consent that the constitution should be abrogated, and things restored to their ancient footing.

The history of Sardinia, during the French reign on the mainland, possesses neither interest nor importance enough to detain us long.* Its king, Charles Emmanuel, weary of the world, abdicated in 1802 and retired to Rome, where he lived many years in devotional exercises, receiving a pension from Napoleon on his seizure of the city, and becoming a Jesuit when that order was restored. His brother and successor, Victor Emmanuel, held his island-crown by the same tenure as his Sicilian neighbour, or, in other words, by the protection of the English fleet. Much more energetic than his predecessor, he excited discontents among the fierce Sards, as well by taxing them heavily for the support of his court and its emigrant nobles, as by attempts at introducing, in an arbitrary manner, reforms in themselves necessary and just. Neither the police of the country, nor its feudalism, received much amelioration in the fifteen

* Denina, *Italia Occidentale*, tom. v. pp. 262, 281. Botta, lib. xv. tom. iii. p. 157-159, lib. xxiv. tom. iv. p. 369. Smyth's *Sardinia*, p. 62.

years during which Cagliari had the honour of being a royal residence.

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

The time at length approached for the overthrow of that gigantic image,—that resemblance of an undivided European sovereignty,—whose head was of gold and its limbs of iron, but its feet of soft clay. The nations whose love of freedom Napoleon had mocked, armed themselves to resist him at the beck of those monarchs from whose diadems he had plucked their fairest jewels ; and the sceptre of that universal empire, which must have soon fallen to pieces through its own inert weight, was wrenched prematurely from the founder's hand.

In the winter of 1812 the emperor's great army perished among the snows of Russia. Germany rose against him as one man ; the battle of Leipzig completed his ruin ; and before the end of 1813, he retained none of his foreign territories but Italy. As he had used the influence of religion to strengthen his rising power, so he now again caught at its support to arrest his fall. Calling the imprisoned pope to Fontainebleau after his return from the fatal campaign in the north, he prevailed on him to subscribe a concordat, which yielded some of the disputed points, and gave again to the French empire the patronage of the see of Rome. But the advisers of Pius in this step had been Cardinal Ruffo and men who, like him, watched the times from a secular point of view ; and different sentiments were suggested to the pontiff by those other friends, the Cardinals Pacca, Gabrielli, Litta, and De Pietro, who were next admitted to his closet. He retracted his consent, and Napoleon lost the hold which he had thus hoped to gain both on France and Italy.* The superstitious among the Italians,—a class which, though much less numerous than it had been, was not nearly extinct,—saw the hand

* Mémoires du Cardinal Pacca, tome i. chap. 5 ; tome ii. chap. i. p. 1-138. Botta, lib. xxvi. tom. iv. p. 522-524.

of God in the misfortunes that overwhelmed the man whom the head of the church had solemnly cursed.* But this religious reflection which, if it had assumed a higher ground, would have been both just and striking, exercised no general influence.

In the mean time, the nation had been called on to take an active share in the closing struggle maintained by their conqueror ; and, whatever they were likely to do in the event of his fall, it was at any rate clear that they could not be expected to act against him, like the nations in Germany or within the Pyrenees. The kingdom of Italy, except the sullen aristocracy of Venice, came forward with cheerfulness and spirit to furnish extraordinary contributions of men and money. Piedmont was equally zealous and active ; in Tuscany partial discontent was accompanied with weakness ; and, in the south, if there was less unanimity than in Lombardy, there was yet enough to promise the means of maintaining a fierce contest. But all these wishes and preparations proved totally barren. Little was done to aid Napoleon, and nothing whatever to secure the independence of Italy after his dethronement. Jealousies, local and personal, though they had been lulled asleep, were not destroyed ; opinions and desires differed by innumerable shades ; and, above all, there was no chief, no man that could have led the nation into battle, defying the fearful odds which would have been brought against it. Neither for the establishment of an independent peninsular monarchy, nor for that of a federation or a single republic, were there materials among those who guided the destinies of the country : Murat and Eugene Beauharnois were equally ill fitted to sustain the part of Robert the Bruce ; and among all their Italian generals there was no Kosciuszko.

* This is Pacca's comment on the destruction of the French armies in Russia. He avers, with pious horror, that there was then literally fulfilled that event which Napoleon had tauntingly described in his letter to Eugene, where he asks if the excommunication would make the weapons drop from the hands of his soldiers. *Mémoires*, tome i. p. 283.

In the summer of 1813, the Austrian armies defiled from the southern passes of the Alps ; and after several indecisive engagements with the forces of Eugene, they had gained, before the end of the campaign, a great part of Northern Italy. Meanwhile, King Joachim, marching his troops northwards, seized the papal provinces, and astonished Europe by proclaiming himself the ally of Austria. He had concluded a bargain, by which Francis, on condition of receiving his assistance, guaranteed the Neapolitan throne to himself and his heirs. In the ensuing spring, a body of English and Sicilians took Leghorn, and were thence led by Lord William Bentinck against Genoa, which surrendered without resistance.

But the contest was already over : for on the 11th of April 1814, Napoleon signed, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication. Upon receiving this intelligence, Eugene attempted to secure Lombardy for himself. The senate at Milan resolved to address to the allied powers a memorial, requiring that the kingdom of Italy should be preserved independent and entire ; and to this he endeavoured to prevail on them to add, a demand that he should be appointed its king. The senators declined to comply with his wish, and a numerous body of citizens called for a convocation of the electoral colleges. A riot ensued, in which Prina, the unpopular minister of finance, was torn in pieces by the mob, and Méjan with difficulty escaped. The viceroy surrendered Mantua, and sought refuge with the King of Bavaria, one of whose daughters was his wife. German armies forthwith took possession of all the chief towns and places of strength in the peninsula.

In the course of the same year, the legitimate princes of Italy returned one by one to their thrones, as the congress of Vienna settled their claims. But the history of Napoleon's empire will not be closed until we have anticipated a period of some months, in order to behold the fall of the last of those sovereignties which he had erected on the south of the Alps.

This was Naples, which for some time remained in an

anomalous position. The Emperor Francis, however desirous he might be, durst not break his own engagements; but France, Spain, and Sicily, protested against all resolutions of the congress, so long as Joachim should be permitted to retain his kingdom. His own imprudence soon removed the difficulty. In March 1815, on hearing that Napoleon had left Elba and effected a landing, he offered to Austria to join in the war against him, on condition of receiving a general acknowledgment of his title. The answer was evasive, and he hastened to gain for himself all he could. With an army of fifty or sixty thousand men, ill trained, and not well inclined, he marched as far as Ravenna, whence a German force of ten thousand drove him back within his own frontier. He fled by sea, while his metropolis surrendered to the English fleet; and, in June 1815, Ferdinand landed at Baia, and took possession of all his old provinces on the mainland.

After the battle of Waterloo, the dethroned Joachim wandered through France, and crossed to Corsica; whence, with about two hundred followers, he sailed for Italy, in the chimerical hope of reconquering his lost kingdom. He landed in Calabria, where the soil yet reeked with the blood shed by Manhés: the peasants seized him, and delivered him to the military. A court-martial, receiving its commission from Naples, convicted him of treason; and on the 13th of October 1815 he was shot in Pizzo, meeting an inglorious death with the same courage which he had always shown in the field of battle.

CHAPTER VII.

The Political History of Italy from the Restoration till the Present Time.

A. D. 1814—A. D. 1840.

Allotments made by the Congress of Vienna—Power of Austria within the Alps—ITALY FROM THE RESTORATION TILL 1820—Difficulties of the Sovereigns—Their Policy—Amnesty—Representative Constitutions—The Church—Feudalism and Nobility—Taxation and Industry—Jurisprudence and Courts of Law—Police—Public Instruction—Personal Grievances—*The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom*—The Charter of 1815—Provincial Congregations—Central Congregations—Administrative Divisions—*The Papal States*—General Administration—Pius the Seventh and Consalvi—Their Charter of 1816—Other Features of Administration—*The Two Sicilies*—The Promised Constitutions—The Promise broken—New Administration—*The Sardinian States*—Public Feeling in Piedmont—Complaints—Sardinia—Its Parliament—THE INSURRECTIONS OF 1820-1821—The Carbonari—Supposed General Plot—Expected Non-Intervention—*The Neapolitan and Sicilian Insurrection*—Blunders and Dissensions—The New Parliaments—The Congress of Laibach—The Austrians—The Administrative Decree of 1821—*The Piedmontese Insurrection*—Abdication of the King—The Prince of Carignano Regent—The Austrians—Disturbances in Other States—The Papal State—Lombardy—ITALY FROM 1821 TILL THE PRESENT TIME—Evil Effects of the Insurrections—The Papal Charter suppressed—Despotism in Modena—Insurrection of 1831 in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States—The Austrians—The Pope's Charter of 1831—The Rising of 1832 in the Papal States—The Austrians—The French in Ancona—Neapolitan Kings and Conspiracies—Piedmont—The Austrian Amnesty—Closing Observations.

POPES.

1800. Pius VII. (Gregorio-Bar- naba Chiaramonti)		1823. Leo XII. (Annibale Della Genga)
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1829. Pius VIII. (Francesco-Xavier Castiglione)
 1831. Gregory XVI. (Mauro Capellari)
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THE AUSTRIAN STATES.

1792. Francis II. Emperor of Germany till 1806; called, after 1806, Francis I., Emperor of Austria
 1835. Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria
-

NAPLES AND SICILY.

1759. Ferdinand IV.; called, since 1816, Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies
 1825. Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies
 1830. Ferdinand II., King of the Two Sicilies
-

THE SARDINIAN STATES.

1802. Victor Emmanuel I., King of Sardinia
 1821. Charles Felix I., King of Sardinia
 1831. Charles Albert I., King of Sardinia
-

TUSCANY.

1790. Ferdinand III., an Austrian Archduke, Grand Duke
 1824. Leopold II., Grand Duke
-

PARMA.

1814. Maria-Louisa of Austria, Ex-empress of the French, Duchess
-

MODENA.

1814. Francis IV., Duke
-

LUCCA.

1815. Maria-Louisa, a Spanish Infanta, and Ex-queen of Etruria, Duchess

1824. Charles-Louis, Duke
-

SAN-MARINO.

1814. Recognised as an independent Republic
-

MONACO.

1815. Recognised as an independent Principality

THE restoration of the legitimate dynasties, partially effected in 1814, was completed the following year; and all the most important relations of the Italian states were fixed in the course of that period, by successive acts of the Congress of Vienna.

The House of Austria received its ancient territories of the Milanese and Mantua; but to these were added Venice and all its mainland provinces, together with those districts which Napoleon had taken from the Grisons. In this manner, profiting by deeds of spoliation which he had professedly taken up arms to avenge, the Emperor Francis became master of all Lombardy, as far westward as the Ticino, and as far south as the Po: and on the 7th of April 1815, he proclaimed the erection of these territories, extending eastward to the mountains forming the right bank of the Isonzo, into a monarchical state called the Lombardo-Venetian King-

dom. The King of Sardinia, who still retained his insular dominion, received back Piedmont and Savoy; while in addition to these, by a resolution which excited deep indignation in Italy, and was charged against the English government as a violation of express pledges, were given all the provinces of the Genoese Republic, which their new ruler erected into a duchy. The female line of the House of Este, represented by Francis, grandson of the last Duke Ercole, and son of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, received, as an independent ducal state, the principalities of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, to which Massa-Carrara was soon added. Lucca, proclaimed a duchy, passed to the Infanta Maria Louisa, formerly queen of Etruria: but, the court of Madrid having protested against the resolution which disallowed the claims of that princess to the principality of Parma, a new arrangement was concluded in 1817. By the original plan, Parma, with Piacenza and Guastalla, had been bestowed as an independent duchy, on the Ex-empress of the French, Maria-Louisa, with remainder to her son, the young Duke of Reichstadt: the subsequent treaty provided that, on the death of the former, the Ex-queen of Etruria or her heirs should receive Parma and its annexed provinces, giving up Lucca to be incorporated into Tuscany. The Archduke Ferdinand returned to that Tuscan duchy which he had inherited from his father Leopold; and, besides the Isle of Elba, and some trifling extensions of frontier, he now received uncontrolled possession of the garrison-state. The Pope was confirmed in his sovereignty over the States of the Church as far north as the Po, and including the Neapolitan districts of Benevento and Pontecorvo; but his French provinces were not restored. To the old king of Naples were given his dominions in their former extent; and on the 8th of December 1816, he declared himself, by the title of Ferdinand I., the founder of a new dynasty, whose realm, embracing both the mainland provinces and the island, or, as they are now usually called, the provinces on both sides of the Faro of Messina, was named the

United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The petty San Marino was formally recognised as the last surviving representative of the Italian republics ; and a French peer, who possessed Monaco, an imperial fief on the coast near Nice, had influence enough to preserve for his lands the nominal rank of an independent state.

These allotments of themselves show, that the German House of Austria has become for Italy in the nineteenth century all, and more than all, which the Spanish branch of the same family was in the sixteenth and seventeenth. As to the actual value of its Italian territories, although the Venetian provinces, with Mantua and the Alpine valleys, do not nearly make up either in extent or population for the want of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, yet the late accessions possess an infinite advantage, both in their compact position with respect to each other, and in their direct communication with the hereditary Austrian States. In styling himself merely King of Lombardy and Venice, the Emperor Francis assumed a title which expressed the real amount of his power much less properly, than it would have been denoted by that more ambitious name which Napoleon had given to a monarchy embracing but a few more Italian provinces. The ties of kindred, likewise, prolonged the Austrian influence far beyond its nominal frontier ; for, through this agency, all those smaller states, Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Tuscany, which separated the Transpadane Kingdom from the Papal dominions, were placed under the immediate control of the court of Vienna. Without any farther condition Austria was mistress of the half of Italy : and in this point of view, that restoration of the temporal sovereignty of the popes, which, if intended by the Catholic princes as an aid to their own religion, was a serious blunder, might have been considered as a barrier prudently reared by the other allied powers, to stop the greedy Germans in their march to the southern extremity of the peninsula.

Other measures, yet more inefficient, appear to have been directed towards the same end. Although the

conqueror of Europe had overturned the Germanic empire, and though Francis had but ill concealed his fall from the imperial throne by assuming an unknown imperial title, yet he now demanded a recognition of his right of paramount sovereignty over Italy, to the same extent as it had been vested in former emperors. The Congress rejected the claim. The small imperial fiefs, like the mediatised principalities in Germany, were annexed without qualification to the states in which they lay : the territories given to the princes of Parma, Lucca, Modena, and Monaco, were emancipated from their titular vassalage ; and Naples alone was left to dispute with the Pope about his claims of feudal homage, which were finally compromised in 1818, for an annual payment of 12,000 crowns to Rome. The dangers, however, which encompassed the restored sovereigns, were made the pretence for conferring on the Austrians a temporary right of interference far more active than any ancient privilege. They were allowed to garrison Piacenza during the reign of Maria-Louisa, and Ferrara and Comacchio permanently ; while the King of Naples accepted as a favour, and agreed to subsidize largely, a German army which was to protect him from his own subjects during a fixed term of years.

ITALY FROM THE RESTORATION TILL THE YEAR 1820.

Never had sovereigns been called upon to perform a task more difficult than that which lay before the restored princes of Italy ; but never had sovereigns possessed more favourable opportunities of becoming benefactors to their subjects and to the world.

The impulse which had been imparted to the productive resources of the country, required, if it was to be kept up, not only a large expenditure by the several governments, but also a mutual understanding on commercial questions, which it was all but impossible to establish. The finances, although delivered over in a condition highly flourishing, had been supported by a

mass of taxation which, felt heavily even under the military empire, was sure to become positively intolerable, if any state, in spite of the great decrease in prices and production, should continue to exact it to the full extent. But the most formidable difficulty arose from the tone of thought and feeling which prevailed throughout the whole nation. From the baronial palace to the peasant's hut, influences were at work which either absolutely disinclined men's minds to the restored princes, or induced them to address to the throne demands partly just, partly unreasonable, but wholly adverse to the principles upon which the new governments were resolved to act.

The mass of the people suffered, as they did after the peace in Great Britain, by diminished facility in earning a livelihood ; and this temporary cause of discontent was aided by other sentiments, which, growing up in the slow course of years, had made the commonalty of Italy, even in the rural districts, a race very unlike what they had been during the revolutionary era which closed the preceding century. Legitimacy had nearly lost, for the peasantry, the religious aspect it had borne in their eyes at the commencement of the same generation. The church, although its members were generally favourable to the old régime, were not the zealous servants they had formerly shown themselves ; and, what was more, their voice was no longer listened to as oracular. Custom, too, had reconciled men to another rule, every way fitted to command obedience, by its mixture of terror and reward ; and, paradoxical as the assertion may appear, there is really little reason to doubt, that, over most parts of the country, the uneducated masses felt as if the dethroned Napoleon were the lawful sovereign, and the Austrians and Neapolitan Bourbons the usurpers.

These, however, were feelings which time and wise administration would have eradicated ; but in other groups of the community, the temper was more actively threatening. All above the lowest classes, all who had shared in the business of the state, or reflected on the principles

according to which government should be exercised, were actuated by a variety of wishes and opinions. Many were still listless and careless, prepared to repose under the rod of Metternich, as they had reposed under the banner of Napoleon : many more, while ready to submit themselves peaceably to the sovereignty of those who had been placed over them, were alarmed by the prospects which the new rule held out, and anxious to receive guarantees for some share of political freedom : a few, but these the most active and enlightened among the middle and higher classes, distrusted the restored dynasties so obstinately, that nothing save the want of a fair occasion prevented them from extorting concessions by force. The latter section of malecontents were as discordant in their visionary plans for the renovation of Italy, as they were in regard to their birthplace, their provincial character, and their local grievances. Some professed to aim at nothing more than moderate representative constitutions under the reinstated princes ; some dreamt of a confederation of Italian republics ; others figured to themselves the whole peninsula united in one mighty commonwealth ; nay, there was a small party that hoped to find unity, independence, and freedom, by placing Italy under a single monarchy, for whose crown they could discover no more worthy claimant than the arbitrary and plotting Duke of Modena. All these speculators had wishes more or less opposed to those of the princes ; and even the quieter spirits, who lurked among the thinking part of the population, would not have been easily satisfied. But the governments had to deal also with other parties, whose desires admitted of being more readily reconciled with their own.

The chief of these were two ; the nobles and the church of Rome. The former had lost their feudal exemptions from taxation, their privileged jurisdictions, their manorial profits, the monopoly which in some states they once enjoyed, of the highest places, civil as well as military. But we have seen already that the Italian baronage had never been, like the French, aliens as a body

either to the principles or to the acts of the revolution ; their position at the restoration, therefore, was not one which entitled them to demand favours ; and few were likely to be either asked or given. The church had more plausible claims. It had lost much property ; not, indeed, that of the secular clergy, which had been merely in some respects altered as to its distribution ; but the lands and other funds of the monastic orders had been entirely confiscated, and the greater part of them alienated irrecoverably. The papal see made pressing demands for the re-establishment of the regular clergy, and for the restitution of all their property ; although it must be observed, that, in all the struggles which have taken place since 1814, the ecclesiastics, in the mass, have not been by any means so decidedly the partisans of absolutism as they were half a century ago.

We must now ascertain how the restored rulers solved these difficult problems ; and a summary of the leading features in their policy may prepare us for comprehending the details in the principal states.

One of the most serious questions respected the personal treatment to be extended to those who had been active servants of the French. The vengeance of Naples in 1799 had given a bloody example ; but at this epoch the moderation which did honour to the first restoration of Louis the Eighteenth was the model imitated by the Italian sovereigns. An amnesty was granted, unconditional and nearly universal ; hardly any one thought it necessary to emigrate, and no one had, in the mean time at least, any serious reason to regret that he did not adopt such a step. That those who had stood high in the confidence of the French should find themselves passed over in the new allotments of places and honours, was a fact for which they must have been fully prepared ; and other reasons, peculiar to the policy of the several states, concurred with the general motive in rendering such changes unavoidable. In Austrian Lombardy the principle was

that of trusting no Italians at first in any office of general responsibility ; although, amidst the appointments of obnoxious German functionaries, and the quartering of German troops in every town, a few men above all suspicion of Buonapartism were treated with consideration and even respect. Melzi received a confirmation both of his ducal title and of its accompanying pension. In Piedmont the old preference of the nobility as public servants crept quietly in ; and at the papal court the ruinous system of governing by ecclesiastics was reintroduced as a matter of course. In the kingdom of Naples the judges kept their places ; but all other members of the administration, both general and local, were dismissed, and two or three were banished.

Among the considerations of permanent importance, the most momentous was that of representative constitutions. We shall immediately learn that arrangements, bearing the semblance at least of representation, were made with very little delay by those two governments, from which perhaps such grants were least to have been expected,—those of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom and the Papal State. But it is asserted that all the sovereigns gave mutual pledges against the introduction of any plans, which should confer real powers of legislation or taxation on bodies elected by any section of the people ; and, whether such promises were given or not, it soon became clear that the principle of them was to be the rule of government.

In reference to the church, the results of the Restoration may be safely described as having substantially confirmed all the most important steps of the Revolution. Monachism lingers out but the last stages of a decrepid existence. The Emperor Francis enforced, in his own states, the rules which, made by his father and uncle, had been maintained by the French ; and, although he found obstacles in the Venetian provinces, there are at this day hardly more than a thousand monks and nuns in his whole Italian kingdom. The sales of the monastic property were all confirmed by him. This last

step the pope himself was obliged in part to imitate ; his adviser Consalvi was a pilot too wary to make shipwreck on a rock that lay above water ; but all the suppressed orders ever known in Christendom were restored, in the Papal State, to their full ecclesiastical rights, while their subsistence became a burden both on the government and on the public. In the kingdom of Naples, the alienation of the church-lands was in like manner acquiesced in ; and although the monastic orders of both sexes were restored, their endowment was defrayed partly from their own unsold estates, partly from the public treasury. The same policy was adopted in Piedmont ; and both there and in Southern Italy the regular clergy have again become numerous ; but, possessing nothing like their former opulence or consideration, they can never again play the part they acted in older times. In Tuscany and Parma the restoration of the monasteries, and their endowment out of the national purse, was executed with much greater moderation ; in Modena likewise the revival of the religious orders took place ; and in Lucca it was attended with the restitution of a large part of their property, still unsold.

Feudalism remains extinct. Since the general peace, it is to be found in no Italian state or dependency, except the island of Sardinia. In Piedmont and the duchy of Modena, but nowhere else, the nobles have monopolized the public offices and commissions in the army, exactly after the ancient fashion. The laws of succession, although not retained on the French footing, have been greatly amended ; and the facilities for entailing lands have been very much circumscribed.

Details as to taxation in the several states, as well as in regard to the position of manufactures and commerce, will find a fitter place hereafter. The public burdens, though every where severe in proportion to the means of the subjects, are in general not worse planned than those of most other countries, the papal system however forming an exception ; but the productive resources of every province are checked by unwise restrictions, not at

all unlike those which prevailed in most of them during last century.

In one particular,—the plan of jurisprudence and judicial establishments,—Italy has been allowed to profit infinitely by the lessons of her revolutionary masters. Every state, without exception, has now a published code of laws, common to all its provinces. In Naples and the duchy of Genoa, the civil and commercial codes are substantially founded on those of the French, the most characteristic deviation being the total prohibition of divorce, a concession which it was every where found necessary to make to the scruples of the church. The code of Leopold is the groundwork of the system in Tuscany. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom has reluctantly received a body of laws essentially the same with that which has force in the German provinces of Austria. The Piedmontese code, although it is the old one of last century, had then undergone many improvements, and has since been modified in some particulars. The Duke of Modena, true to himself, reinstated the perplexed statutes of the Este; and the Papal See, likewise consistent, returned to its venerable compound of the civil and canon laws. In criminal procedure the French juries have disappeared; but the torture is universally abolished; an absolute equality of all persons is recognised in judicial questions; and in two states, Naples and Tuscany, criminal trials are public. Dispensations and special interferences of the government in lawsuits are believed to have been exceedingly rare since the restoration, except in Piedmont and Modena; although in prosecutions for political offences we have every where seen too many instances of special commissions, and of forms which violate every rule of justice. From all commendation of criminal procedure in Italy, the papal tribunals must be emphatically excluded. It is not easy to say how far the Italian governments really carry the system of espionage; but, at all events, they contrive to make their subjects believe in its universal existence, and nowhere is the belief stronger than in Tuscany, the most mildly ruled

of all the states. The severe literary censorship, which extends over the whole peninsula, may be properly classed as an appendix to the criminal legislation.

Public instruction is making advances in several quarters, and, however defective, is not so far inferior to European cultivation in general as our insular prejudices would tempt us to imagine. The chief defect of the schools is their being almost every where exclusively in the hands of the lower ecclesiastics. The Austrian system of popular education is the best of all, and, though deformed by some characteristic absurdities, promises to fit the Lombards, in course of time, for meritizing and extorting a better government than their German conquerors are likely to give them.

If we analyze the features of administration which have been now briefly sketched, we may discover much cause for discontent, but little, except in two or three states, which would lead us to expect general hatred of the rulers, or bloody insurrections. We should obtain very different results, however, if we were to investigate more deeply the state of Italian society. We should perceive alarming facts in the history of the starving peasantry in many agricultural districts, and of the mechanics and petty tradesmen in many decaying towns; and if we ascend in the scale to the higher classes, we should see disappointed hopes, personal and national, co-operating frequently with fortunes dilapidated by no fault of the owners, and with innumerable motives to resistance, which, though dangerously strong, are of a nature not easily estimated.

The great grievance, the obstinate refusal of the governments to concede representative constitutions, weighs powerfully on the minds of those in Italy who are likely to take the lead in popular movements. The personal grievances of all ranks are more easily felt than described. Favouritism, severe regulations of police, gloomy bigotry and the interference of Jesuits at court, seem to have given the first impulse in Piedmont. Oppressive financial regulations, impoverishing the towns, and reducing the peasantry to despair, roused those

papal provinces which, during a long subjection to the French rule, had learned to value civil liberty and equal, though strict, government. On the mainland of Naples, personal dislikes and military discontent seem to have accelerated an outbreak before those who should have led a revolution were ready to stir ; and in Sicily the state of society is so peculiar, that it would be rash to assign motives without a profound study of the position in which that island stood. In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, which, it must fairly be allowed, is upon the whole the best-governed state in Italy, there are, besides more hidden sources of discontent, obvious ones forcing themselves on the attention of every person who studies either Lombardy or the other provinces of the same master. There is the absolutism of the Austrian system, which wishes its subjects to be happy, but will allow them to be so in no way but its own, and, though kind enough in ordinary cases, punishes political offences as if they were worse than murder ; there is the harassing pedantry in trifles, which, chargeable against all German functionaries, is most provokingly triumphant at Vienna ; there is the foolish mystery, shrouding all matters of government, against which, seventy years ago, Verri, the Milanese philosopher, solemnly warned the Emperor Joseph ; there is the irritating jealousy of the rulers, their foreign subjects set over the Italians, and their foreign army paraded in every town before the eyes of the inhabitants ; and there is, around, and through, and over all, that strange perverseness which makes Austria in the political world exactly what some men are in society, whose ungracious demeanour makes even their acts of kindness look like suspicion or insult.

Before approaching the disturbances of 1820, we may hastily review some of the principal measures adopted in the larger states during the five years which preceded that crisis. In some of them we shall discover seeds of discontent, but from others we should expect that better fruits would have been gathered.

The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

By a proclamation signed on the 24th day of April, 1815, the Emperor Francis gave to his Italian kingdom something resembling a constitution. If the new charter bestowed no real power on any class of the people, it did not take from them any political privileges known under Napoleon's empire in its later years. The hereditary dominions of Austria (except Hungary and Transylvania, which are limited monarchies, and not here spoken of) already possessed Provincial States or Diets, which in no respect were allowed to encroach on the sovereign's prerogative of making laws and imposing taxes, and, even on questions of administration, were merely consultative assemblies. The new Italian institutions were founded mainly on these, borrowing also, as we shall perceive, a good deal from Maria-Theresa's charter of 1755, which had been originally derived from the same source.

The motive which the proclamation set forth was, the emperor's desire "to form colleges of men from the different classes of the state, in order that he might become acquainted, in a regular form, with the wishes and desires of the nation." Accordingly, it directs the organization of two kinds of Representative Assemblies. The higher are Central Congregations, one for each of the two general governments of Milan and Venice, into which the kingdom was divided; and the second are Provincial Congregations, one for each of the seventeen provinces which constituted the kingdom. The members of both bodies hold their seats for six years, half of the number going out triennially. Besides other disqualifications, such as bankruptcy or the dependence of a criminal charge, placemen and ecclesiastics are excluded from both assemblies; and their constitution is the following.

Each Provincial Congregation consists, in the first place, of four, six, or eight landholders, according to the size of the province, half being nobles and half commoners; to whom is added one representative for every

royal borough. The qualifications are,—citizenship in the kingdom, besides which the nobles must have a patent confirmed by the emperor,—residence in the province or borough,—a capital of two thousand crowns,—and thirty years of age. For the election of these deputies, the Council of each Commune selects two names (those of a nobleman and commoner); and the corporation of each borough names three of its citizens: these lists are sent to the congregation of the province, who choose from the several lists three qualified candidates for each vacant place, transmitting these reduced lists to the central congregation, who may object to any individual, or lay the list without remark before the government. If the government be satisfied, the persons first named in each list are appointed deputies; but it may exercise a veto, being bound, however, to report its reasons to Vienna. The Delegate or governor of the Province is the president of the provincial congregation. Its deputies have honorary rank, but no salary; and the objects of their meetings are described to be:

1. The administration of the taxes in the province;
2. The control of the finances of the towns and communes, whose councils must hand in their accounts annually;
3. The care of bridges and roads, with the exception of those which are taken charge of by the government;
4. The superintendence of charitable institutions.

Each of the two Central Congregations is composed, first, of two landholders, a nobleman and commoner, from each province of the government; secondly, of a representative for every royal borough; and lastly, of the Governor (of Milan or Venice) as official president. The qualification in money or land is four thousand crowns; and the other requisites are the same as for the provincial assembly, with this exception, that, in this case, residence in any part of the Austrian dominions is sufficient. The elections take place as follows. Every borough sends a list of three candidates to the central congregation, which transmits it to the govern-

ment, along with a recommendation of one of the names. For the election of deputies from the provinces, the council of every commune proposes two candidates, a nobleman and commoner, to the provincial congregation, which selects from the different lists three noblemen and three commoners ; and the names of these persons are transmitted by the central congregation to the government, accompanied by a recommendation. By a separate section of the decree, the sovereign reserves to himself an unlimited veto. The deputies of the central congregations possess honorary rank, and receive from the public exchequer 2000 florins, or £200 per annum. Their functions are described to be : 1. The assessment of any occasional or extraordinary taxes ; 2. The completion of the apportionment of the land-tax ; 3. The inspection of the revenues of the communes, and the consideration of the apportionment of the public impositions between the towns, the communes, and the provinces or whole territory of the government ; 4. The allotment of the military services ; 5. The superintendence of bridges, canals, and roads ; and, 6. The general inspection of charitable institutions. This field, however, is grievously narrowed by the next section, which is to this effect : That in all these matters the central congregation shall, in the first place, possess but a consultative voice ; and, secondly, shall be confined to proposals for measures not yet entered on, while the execution of measures already arranged is confined to the provincial congregations, so far as these assemblies can competently entertain them. The sovereign invites the central congregation to communicate to him the wishes of the nation, reserving to himself the right of granting or refusing its requests at pleasure. Its ordinary business is despatched in general meetings ; but the president has the prerogative of naming commissions of the deputies to report on matters of difficulty.

The arrangements which completed the system thus laid down, have since suffered little alteration. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom is governed by a Viceroy,

who resides at Milan, and has since the peace been always a member of the imperial family. There are two general Governments, those of Milan and Venice; seventeen Provinces, each administered by a royal Delegate; and the Districts within the provinces are under royal Commissaries. The Communes subsist, with their Podestà and Councils, constituted substantially on Maria-Theresa's system.

The States of the Church.

The temporal sovereignty of the pope is, in theory at least, unlimited, and his crown elective, the right of choosing being in the College of Cardinals, a body named by his holiness to the number of seventy, which is seldom full. Its members receive salaries, besides the emoluments of public offices, and, when they are priests, the revenues of benefices. They rank as princes, and are divided into three classes: Cardinal-bishops, who are six in number (the bishops of Ostia, Porto, Sabina, Palestrina, Frascati, and Albano), Cardinal-priests, and Cardinal-deacons. The papal election takes place in a secret meeting of the college, called a Conclave. It continues to sit with peculiar forms and restrictions, till the nomination has been made, which is determined by a majority of two-thirds, the voting being secret. Austria, France, and Spain, possess each a veto, which is exercised through one of the cardinals present; and, besides other qualifications, the pope must now, not by any law, but by long established usage, be a native Italian, a Cardinal, and fifty-five years old at his appointment.

The general administration, at the head of every branch of which stands a Cardinal, is led by the ministry or cabinet, consisting of three or more Cardinal-secretaries. Its other chief branches are these:—the Camera or Treasury, whose president, the Camerlengo, is assisted by the Auditor, the Treasurer-general, and Assessors;—the Chancery or Cancelleria, headed by the Cardinal-chancellor;—the Dataria, over which presides the Cardinal-pro-datarius, and which is chiefly employed in the dis-

posal of benefices, and in ordinary dispensations :—and the Pœnitentiaria, directed by the Cardinal-penitentiary, a secret chamber which seems to have more of the ecclesiastical than of the political character. All boards of cardinals appointed, permanently or temporarily, for the performance of special duties, are called Congregations.

The government of Pius VII. and his able secretary Cardinal Consalvi, exhibited a singular conflict of opposite principles. In questions of civil polity, both these men, especially the minister, had taken lessons from the times, and were not indisposed to make concessions and improvements ; but both, entertaining lofty notions of the supremacy of the church and the Holy See, would have gladly reinstated Rome in her early position. In the concordats with foreign Catholic powers, Consalvi's diplomatic skill gained considerable advantages. In the internal administration of the state, there were reintroduced several very objectionable parts of the old system ; but in much of it the cardinal saw clearly the seeds of new discontents and new impoverishment ; and, therefore, a Proclamation, issued on the 6th of July 1816, introduced into every branch of the executive organic reforms, which the enemies of change contrived first to cripple and then to abolish. This curious charter, although it did not survive Pius, and indeed never came fully into operation, has been lately restored in part, and is altogether too remarkable to be passed without notice.*

The preamble declares its main purpose to be, the introduction of one uniform system of government and law for the whole papal state, and professes regret not only that this end is not wholly attainable, but that the circumstances of the exchequer forbid any material di-

* This “ Proprio Motu ” will be found at length in Pöllitz : vol.ii. p. 408-430.

minution of taxation. The enactments embrace three branches ; the administration, both local and general, the judicial system, and the taxes.

1. It retains the French division of the country into Communes, and the communal electoral Colleges, on the plan already explained. Each commune receives a Council and a Magistracy. The council is to contain, according to the population, from forty-eight to sixteen members, who, it would appear, hold their seats for life, vacancies being supplied by votes of the college, whose choice the governor of the province cannot refuse to confirm, unless for cause shown. Every such council is to consist of land-holders, traders, literary or scientific men, and manufacturers, no one class being allowed to monopolize all the seats. The clergy have places in the electoral colleges, and are eligible as councillors. The magistracy of the commune consists of a president, called the Gonfaloniere, and from six to two other members, called Anziani ; while each of the towns or villages of the commune, besides the chief one, has a Syndic, who is dependent on the Gonfaloniere. These magistrates hold office two years, and are chosen by the government from three lists submitted by the communal council. The council prepare annually a roll of the taxes leviable in their territory, which is revised by the governor of the province, and then published ; they also name their own clerks and other subalterns, and may even impose extraordinary taxes with the previous approbation of the papal cabinet. The governor of the district, in person or by a deputy, is their president ; but he has no voice, and the deliberations are led by the Gonfaloniere, who is recognised as the representative of the commune, the Anziani being his administrative assistants.

For the general purposes of administration, the state was divided into seventeen Delegations, and these into District-governments. Every Delegate, or governor of a delegation, had a Council called the Congregazione di Governo, consisting of four, three, or two persons, all named by the sovereign. This board was to meet with

the delegates three times a-week, but to possess only consultative voices : though the votes of the members, and the reasons of them, were directed to be recorded and transmitted to Rome. We shall see the congregations reappearing in a crisis nearer to our own times.

2. Instead of the old body of laws, the edict promised to introduce three new codes, a civil, a criminal, and a commercial,* for the framing of which it was intimated that commissions had already been named. Till the promulgation of the new statute-books, it was declared that “the common law, as limited by the canon law, and the apostolic constitutions,” should remain in force, unless in the particulars specified. The promised codes did not appear.

For the administration of justice very much was done ; and some of the provisions give a most humiliating notion of the system which the proclamation was intended to improve. Unluckily Pius, on returning to Rome and receiving back a part of his dominions, had revived the baronial jurisdictions in those provinces : for them, therefore, the edict did no more than hold out encouragements to the possessors to resign the privilege, subjecting them also to restrictions in its exercise. In the other provinces, which were not restored to the Pope till later, (Bologna, Ferrara, Romagna, the Marches, Urbino, Benevento, and Camerino), the baronial jurisdictions were totally annulled. The public civil courts were now modelled on a system that has since suffered alterations, but of which some parts still subsist.

The administration of criminal justice was rendered more simple, and considerably improved. Minor offences, involving fine or imprisonment and hard labour for not more than a year, might be tried by the Governors of the Districts. In the chief town of every Delegation was established a superior Criminal Court of five members : namely, the Delegate as president, his two Assessors, one of the judges in the civil court of first instance, and one member of the Congregazione

di Governo. This body decided on appeal from the governors in cases where a year's imprisonment had been adjudged : and determined in the first instance all questions where the inferior jurisdiction was excluded. If the punishment awarded exceeded certain limits, or if the judges had not been unanimous, the sentence was reviewable by the civil Appeal-courts of Bologna and Macerata, for the Delegations within their jurisdiction ; and for the others the appeal was carried to the court of the Consulta in Rome. The former criminal jurisdiction was reserved to the Inquisition, the bishops, the prefects of the apostolic palace and military courts, and the " Forum Ecclesiasticum." The torture was expressly abolished. It was intimated that the new code would entirely take from the judges the power of awarding arbitrary punishment, and fix for every offence a maximum and a minimum ; and, in the mean time, such punishments were restricted to one year's imprisonment. Till the promulgation of the new law-book, the old forms were to be followed, with the exceptions specified, two of which cannot be passed unnoticed, since it is lamentable to think that such regulations should have been called for in the nineteenth century. First, The sentences were to be framed in Italian, not in Latin, and were to be accompanied with reasons. Secondly, " In the trial of *capital* offences, if the accused refuses to submit to the still subsisting form of procedure, and demands a confrontation of witnesses, this shall be granted, and shall take place in the presence of the judges who are to decide the cause."

3. The financial branch of the " Proprio Motu " confirms the sale of the government-domains ; it resumes a part of the church-lands, promising the purchasers indemnification, and nominating commissioners to examine their claims ; and it contains, moreover, various regulations as to the taxes. A commission is also appointed to make out a general measurement and assessment for the land and house tax, from which are exempted dwellings entered at less than thirty-two dollars

yearly, work-shops, hospitals, convents, and all religious establishments. A poll-tax, which was leviable in some provinces, is abolished, as are the duties exigible on imports into the city of Rome.

The system, of which some details have now been given, is certainly a peculiar and narrow one ; but it was a great step for the Papal State, and it was planned under difficulties which finally made it inoperative. The great defect of the Roman polity remained unaltered, but even in it some reforms have been effected since 1814 : for, although the highest offices are still confined to aged churchmen, yet, in most of the inferior departments, the laity have of late been much more freely employed. Long ago, likewise, it had been found necessary to institute a peculiar kind of deaconship, or intermediate order between the laity and ordained priesthood, in which publicmen might rise, through the inferior rank of Prelate or Monsignore, to the dignity of the Cardinals' College. The Prelature was completely evolved about the middle of the seventeenth century in the form which it still retains, and effected some good by that training to legal business, which is the condition of admission to the first step on the ladder,—the appointment as an honorary Assessor or Referendary of the Segnatura.* Consalvi himself did not become a priest till the latest years of his ministry, when he reluctantly gave way to the entreaties of his master. The situation of the peasantry received no essential improvement, and perhaps admitted of little from the government ; but the rule was mild, and the extensive buildings and excavations, which were undertaken before the death of Pius, at once adorned Rome, produced important discoveries, and gave employment to a few of the poor. Much of the minister's attention was directed to the police, and especially to the suppression of those bands of robbers, which began, immediately after the peace, to infest the frontiers of the Roman State and of Naples ; an under-

* See Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 104.

taking in which he made considerable progress, though he was very far from being able to complete it.*

The Two Sicilies.

Before Ferdinand left Palermo in May 1815, he had summoned the Sicilian parliament, and arranged with them the outline of a new constitution, which recognised the parliament and the sovereign as the legislature, and was mainly formed on the model of the charter granted by Louis the Eighteenth in 1814. On the 8th of December 1816, having apparently forgotten this covenant, he issued that proclamation which, as already stated, formed the two kingdoms into one, and which, at the same time, fixed the administration in direct contradiction of his engagements with the Sicilians, and, it is said, in defiance of promises equally strong made to the Neapolitans.† It created a Council of State for governing the whole realm, allowing one-fourth of its members to be Sicilians, and engaging to establish a similar proportion in the other chief posts of the administration. It guaranteed to the natives of both kingdoms an equality of promotion in the army, navy, and household. It established a viceroy in Sicily, and gave to the island a separate and independent series of law-courts. It finally and decisively abolished the feudal system in both countries ; and fixed a maximum of taxation for the insular state, promising not to exceed that amount without the consent of the parliament. It retained, for the

* Consalvi's administration was satirized in an amusing hoax, which he himself had the spirit to relate. One day there was put into the post-office in Rome a letter addressed "To the Emperor Napoleon, at Saint Helena." The clerks, in a paroxysm of alarm, carried it to the Cardinal-secretary, who found its contents to be these : "Sire,—During the time I have been minister of his Holiness since your abdication, I have used every effort to make the subjects of the state regret your reign. Every thing which was good in your government I have abolished ; every thing which was bad in it I have carefully retained. We have at length come to such a pass that none of us can do without you. Your return is anxiously desired by all, and by none more fervently than by your very humble and perplexed servant,—ERCOLE CONSALVI."

† Pöllitz. vol. ii. p. 447.

mainland, most points of the French system of administration, both local and general, and the arrangement of the tribunals. In September 1819, there appeared a new body of laws, borrowing much from the French codes.

In the system of policy which followed this act, the restored government, while they condescended to take some lessons from their last predecessors, committed several faults, which not only injured the kingdom permanently, but added to the discontent of the Sicilians an equally lively spirit of resentment on the mainland. They increased considerably the amount of taxes, a measure which, though perhaps necessary to some extent, was accompanied by harsh proceedings towards the peasantry, while it weighed very severely on the landholders. They neglected almost wholly the education of the people. They neglected still more grievously the public works which the French had either planned or executed ; and they allowed the roads and bridges to remain unfinished, or to fall into decay. The finances were managed, not unskilfully, and, it may be, as economically as circumstances allowed, by the Chevalier Medici, a personage who has already presented himself to our notice. He was descended of a Florentine family, which professed to be an elder branch of the great ducal house. The Marquis Tommasi, likewise, another confidential minister, was a man of prudence and moderation, although his views had signally changed since the days when he sat at the feet of Filangieri, and wrote that glowing eulogium on his master which prefaces most editions of his works. But all forbearance was excluded by the influence of the minister of police, the Prince of Canosa, an arbitrary plotter, educated in the school of Queen Caroline, and equally injurious to the repose of the kingdom by his intrigues and his severities.

The Sardinian States.

In Piedmont no remarkable measure of the government offers itself to our notice ; but there were numerous

causes of local discontent. These, also, were infinitely augmented by the temper and habits of the people, never considering themselves as properly Italians, proud of their annexation to France, and disgusted by the taxes and deprivations which they had now to endure, without the military honours that had in some measure atoned for those evils under the empire.

Victor Emmanuel was a good-hearted man, ignorant of state-affairs and guided by three advisers, all of whom, whatever their real demerits may have been, were highly disliked in the nation. The Queen was blamed for the extravagance of the court, and the partiality lavished on a few nobles ; to her confessor, the Abbé Botta, were attributed the profuse endowments of the monasteries, and other unpopular ecclesiastical measures ; and as to the royal favourite Count Roburent, his strongest passion seems to have been jealousy of all the king's official servants. The malecontents charged the minister at war, the Marquis Saint-Marsan, with indolence and carelessness ; and they complained that the Marquis Brignole, who presided over the finances, was not allowed to practise those measures of retrenchment which he had pressingly advocated. But when Count Balbo, who possessed the confidence of the liberal party, was appointed to the ministry of the interior in 1819, they professed to feel the bitterest of all their mortifications. They now saw every objectionable branch of the internal administration, the harassing military police, the subjection of the municipal officers to the crown, the unwise limitation of the power to grant leases, and other burdens on the landholders and peasantry, left almost as bad as he found them on his accession to office ; while warrants under the royal seal, for stopping the course of justice in civil questions, or even for preventing private persons from disposing of their own property, were alleged to be disgracefully common.

In Sardinia the parliaments, or *Stamenti*, continued to subsist in their three houses, but gave little resistance to the will of the sovereign. The Ecclesiastical Cham-

ber is composed of representatives of the prelates ; the Military Chamber contains all the nobles ; the Royal Chamber comprehends the Syndics of the communes, and the Capi-Giurati or chief magistrates of the domanial towns. These three bodies deliberate separately, communicating by messages ; there is no restraint on the king's prerogative in summoning or dissolving them ; and their power is found to be practically exercised by the nobles.

THE INSURRECTIONS OF 1820-1821.

The mountains of Naples had been the birthplace of a secret society, called the Carbonari, who, originally republicans, professed, after the Restoration, to have altered their views, and to demand nothing more than a constitutional monarchy under the reigning house. They extended their connexions into Piedmont, and, in some measure, even into Lombardy and the Papal States. They were dreaded by the governments ; and that of Naples, under the guidance of Canosa, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of patronising a counter-association for the support of absolutism. They were also distrusted by many of the most judicious constitutionalists, who steadily refused to join them.*

In 1820 and 1821 the discontents of the people, and the disappointment of many in the educated classes, broke out into insurrection, first at Naples, and then in Piedmont. It has been said that the two risings formed parts of one plan, which embraced Lombardy and the

* The Carbonari, or Charcoal-workers, took their name from the occupations of the peasants in Calabria and the Abruzzo. They had forms of initiation, symbolical expressions, and secret signs, like the freemasons ; and, during their short triumph at Naples in 1820, they published the rules of their association, though it was asserted by their enemies that they had secret degrees of brotherhood, which were not avowed in the printed rules. A meeting of adepts was mystically called a Sale (*Vendita*) of charcoal ; a district or lodge was called a Hut (*Baracca*) ; and the purpose of the society was stated to be, the slaying of the wolf which endeavoured to devour the lamb. The counter-society took the name of Calderari or Braziers.

Popedom ; but this is not probable, however general may have been the mere wish for change. There were no symptoms of concert, even between the Neapolitans and the Piedmontese ; and the plots which arose elsewhere, seem to have been produced by causes altogether local. But the immediate encouragement of the Italian revolt was furnished by the revolution in Spain, and by the principle of non-intervention, which the allied sovereigns had adopted in reference to that country. The Italians vainly hoped that the same rule would be followed in their case.

The Neapolitan Insurrection.

On the 2d of July 1820, there broke out a mutiny among the troops, who were disgusted by the prevalent favouritism, and more especially disliked Nugent, an Irishman, who was commander-in-chief. The insurgents were headed by two or three subaltern officers, who were Carbonari ; and the whole army, having deserted the king, placed itself under its own generals.* The revolt was joined by the people from all the provinces, and a remonstrance was sent to the government, demanding a representative constitution. The old king deposited his power in the hands of the Crown-prince Francis, as Vicar, having first, however, promised to grant the nation their request, and to publish the charter in eight days. Unfortunately, the ultra-party, who were at this stage in possession of all the power, came forward instantly with a demand that the constitution should be that of the Spanish Cortes, first published in 1812, and recently reinstated. More unwise still, the prince-vicar acceded to this proposal ; and on the day after

* We have histories of the revolution from three of the constitutional generals. Pépé's and Carrascosa's are confined to the revolution itself : Colletta's forms part of his History of Naples. Carrascosa and Colletta agree in throwing heavy blame on the Carbonari ; and it is clear, from all the three accounts, that the insurrection was precipitated by the rashness of the inferior actors, before the real leaders considered matters ripe.

his appointment he proclaimed the royal acceptance of the Spanish Constitution, with such alterations as a junta should deem necessary. General Pépé marched into the city at the head of the troops, followed by an immense multitude from all quarters ; and the king as well as the prince-vicar took the oaths to the constitution. The temporary commission of government, appointed by the regent, found themselves embarrassed by obstacles at every step, and multiplied these by their own dissensions and imprudence. The Carbonari charged the moderate constitutionalists with lukewarmness ; these again suspected the adepts of republicanism ; both parties were deficient in business-habits, and were compelled to assume some of the ex-ministers as colleagues, particularly to manage the finances. It happened that money was always wanting for equipping and supporting the army ; and the discontents which thus arose among the newly organized militia, were increased by the regular soldiers, many of whom had been called out after their term of service was expired.

A new difficulty soon arose. The Sicilians revolted and demanded a separate constitution and parliament, which the government refused to grant. Bloody disturbances took place at Palermo, which the Neapolitans suppressed by sending across an armed force.

It is needless to describe a polity which, borrowed from abroad, did not endure ten months ; but it must be said that the choice of the Spanish constitution,—the most democratical which ever took the name of monarchy,—proved how completely the liberals misapprehended the task they had to perform. The Neapolitans were as unfit for it as the Spaniards ; and the king and his son, who were justly charged by the nation with gross duplicity, could not have been expected to acquiesce in the new system, if they at all understood its effect. It is uncertain in what quarter the choice originated, though it probably came from the Carbonari ; the mass of the people demanded the Cortes, without knowing what the word meant ; and the more intelligent among

the constitutionalists clearly saw the error, and vainly struggled against it.*

The Spanish draft of 1812 left the qualification of the electors to be subsequently fixed, and it does not exactly appear how the Neapolitans meant to fix it; but their first election seems to have taken place under rules like those of the French electoral colleges. Their parliament, of seventy-two deputies, was composed, it is said, with few exceptions, of respectable and intelligent men. It was made up as follows:—ten members were ecclesiastics; eight were scientific persons or professors; eleven were magistrates; nine were lawyers; two were place-men under the government; three were merchants; five were military officers; and twenty-four were land-holders. Of the whole number not more than two were nobles, which, for several reasons, was to be regretted. The opposite tone of feeling which prevailed in Sicily was illustrated by the choice of deputies in their parliament, which met soon after. It consisted of twenty-four members, of whom a third were nobles, and a fourth more were churchmen.

The Neapolitan parliament was opened on the 1st of October 1820, by the king in person, in the large church of the Spirito Santo. In the same month the three crowned heads who formed the Holy Alliance, attended by ministers from most of the other European powers, met at Troppau. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, resolved to violate their own late precedents of non-intervention, and to put down the Neapolitan constitution by force of arms. France approved the measure, but gave no aid in its execution. The British

* In the midst of one of the crowds in the streets of Naples, a Lazzarone, who had been shouting with the loudest, “ Long live the Constitution!” suddenly turned to an acquaintance : “ Gossip,” said he, “ what, by the bye, is this same constitution they make such a noise about ? ” The other looked puzzled, but after a moment’s consideration, “ I have it,” he answered : “ Constitution is a dictionary-word for Caution or Bail ; and what we want is, that the king shall find bail to keep the peace towards us.” There have been worse definitions of constitutional government.

cabinet declared itself neutral, and protested against intervention as a general rule, but admitted that there might be cases justifying it, and that this was probably one.* The only powers which recognised the new constitutional government were Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The three sovereigns invited the King of Naples to join their conference. In compliance with the new constitution he applied to the parliament for leave, by a message in which he promised that, whatever decision might be pronounced on the polity the country had chosen, he would procure for it a charter guaranteeing these five principles :—a national representation, personal liberty, the freedom of the press, the independence of the judges, and the responsibility of his ministers. The answer of the deputies to the message was most unwise. While they formally allowed the king to leave the country, they protested against any change in the constitution. Ferdinand withdrew in December, and joined the sovereigns at Laibach, attended by one commissioner from the parliament, the Duke of Sangallo, who was treated with marked disrespect. The weak monarch was easily convinced that his promises had been extorted and therefore were not binding.

The Austrian troops prepared to execute the resolutions of the congress, while, in case of need, a Russian army was set in motion from the north of Europe. The Neapolitans did not learn their danger until the Germans, 43,000 strong, were within a few days' march of the frontier. The constitutional army, numbering about 25,000 men, was divided into two independent corps, under Pépé and Carrascosa. The former marched to defend the passes of the Abruzzo, against which the Austrians were moving under General Frimont, fortified by a proclamation from Ferdinand, calling on his subjects to receive the invaders as friends. One slight

* See Lord Castlereagh's Circular Despatch, laid before the House of Lords in February 1821.

skirmish took place near Rieti, on the 7th of March 1821 ; and next morning Pépé's army had melted down to a few hundreds. On the 10th the foreign troops occupied the fortress of Aquila ; the Neapolitans scattered in all directions ; and the war was at an end.

On the 15th of May the king returned to Naples ; and the Austrians left him strong garrisons, both on the mainland and in Sicily. In passing through Florence, he dedicated, in the church of the Annunziata, a magnificent lamp, bearing an inscription testifying his pious gratitude to the Madonna for having redeemed the honour of his crown. He brought with him a few Russian bears, presents which the Emperor Alexander, knowing the foolish old man's taste, had sent him to stock the thickets of the Abruzzo. The promise of complete amnesty, which had made part of his message to the parliament, was instantly forgotten. Courts-martial and criminal juntas were set down every where ; a hundred persons at least were executed, among whom were Morelli and Silvati, two of the officers who had headed the first mutiny ; but the list scarcely included any one of higher rank. Some, however, were exposed to degrading punishments ; many were sent to the galleys, and many more to the convict-island of Pantellaria. Carrascosa and Pépé escaped ; and Colletta, and two other generals, were allowed to live under surveillance in remote provinces of Austria.

On the 26th of May 1821, Ferdinand issued a decree, which was the fruit of deliberations conducted by a council of eighteen, numbering among its members the Prince of Canosa, the promoter of the criminal trials then going on, and Cardinal Ruffo, once more in active life. This edict altered the form of the administration, or Council of State, for the mainland, created a separate Council of State for Sicily, and made the government of that island quite independent of the Council at Naples, thus virtually repealing the late union.

It also established a mockery of representation, by constituting, for the mainland, a national assembly called

a Consulta di Stato, to consist of thirty members or more, and to meet in the capital ; and another for Sicily, to have eighteen members at least, who were to sit at Palermo. The sovereign was to name the councillors, and engaged to select them from among the chief landholders and members of the administration, the church, the courts of law, and the army. These Assemblies were to give their opinion, 1. On such proposed laws and regulations as the administration should have approved, and the king should direct his secretaries of state to lay before them ; 2. On plans of taxation ; 3. On the administration of the national debt ; 4. On the management of the royal domain. Even these functions were not to be exercised in full meetings, but the crown was to nominate commissions of the members, who should report. The vote of every person was to be recorded, and laid before the government. The laws were to flatter this impotent assembly, by professing to be passed by the king, with advice of his own council, and after having also heard the opinion of the consulta. The times of meeting were to be fixed by the sovereign at pleasure. In every province he was to appoint a Provincial Council, whose members were to consist of an indefinite number of the most considerable landholders, who should be entitled to hold place for two years. These provincial boards were to assess the public taxes on the communes, till a general roll should be made out. The decree ended by promising to the communes the administration of their property, and the right of assessing themselves, and engaged that the king should issue a law organizing their magistracies.

The Piedmontese Insurrection.

The Neapolitan constitutionalists had hardly dispersed, when another military insurrection broke out in Piedmont. It was headed by several noblemen and officers of rank, and secretly favoured by Charles-Albert, prince of Carignano, a kinsman of the royal family, who has since become King of Sardinia.

On the 10th of March 1821, several regiments simul-

taneously mutinied. On the 12th the insurgents seized the citadel of Turin, and on the 13th the king abdicated in favour of his absent brother, Charles-Felix, appointing the Prince of Carignano regent, who next day took the oaths to the Spanish constitution. A ministry was formed at Turin; and in the same city a Supreme Junta was also constituted, though that of Alessandria previously formed appears to have been more democratic in its views, and not to have recognised the board in the capital. On the 23d of March the Genoese rose against the Piedmontese government, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution, but insisted on a separate parliament, and refused to obey or even to send deputies to either of the other juntas. The duchy of Savoy remained perfectly tranquil. Even without these dissensions the cause was already lost; for, on the 14th day of the same month, the Austrian generals in Lombardy had begun to collect their forces on the frontier; on the 16th the new king, Charles-Felix, had repudiated the acts of the regent; and in the night of the 21st Charles-Albert fled to the camp of the Austrians. On the 8th of April the German army joined the royal troops at Novara, and beat the insurgents; the junta dissolved itself on the 9th; and on the 10th the king was in possession of Turin and of the whole country.*

Other Italian States in 1820-21.

While these stormy scenes were acting in the two extremities of the peninsula, no district of Italy remained altogether undisturbed.

Arrests took place in several quarters of the Papal State, but most of all in the eastern provinces. In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the government professed to have discovered dangerous plots, as to which we know nothing with certainty except the existence of

* Dumaistre, *Précis Historique sur les Révolutions de Naples et de Piémont en 1820 et 1821*; Paris, 1821. Santa Rosa, *De la Révolution Piémontaise*; Paris, 1821.

an association of well-educated and high-principled men at Milan, who laboured in the cause of education by instituting schools, and attempted to aid public enlightenment by a periodical called the *Conciliatore*, which the Austrians speedily suppressed. Those members of this society who have become best known to the world were the Counts Porro and Confalonieri, and the poet Silvio Pellico. These with many others were seized, and several were condemned to die. None of them were actually put to death, but Confalonieri's fate was long in suspense ; and, after the heroic devotion of his wife had saved him, he was publicly carried to the market-place in Milan, exposed to the multitude on the scaffold as if about to be executed, and then remanded to prison. His sentence was perpetual confinement, in the horrible form called *carcere duro*.

Whatever may have been the political offences of those unfortunate Milanese who, like him and Pellico, pined or died in the dungeons of Spielberg, it is at least certain that there was no truth whatever in most of the charges which the Austrians at the time allowed their journals to propagate against them. Such was the story of Confalonieri's having instigated the murder of Prina. But again, though the Italian state-prisoners had been the vilest of criminals, the inhuman discipline of which they were the victims, and of which the atrocity, thinly veiled in Pellico's narrative, has been fully exposed by others, reflects on the government of Vienna a disgrace not to be wiped off by all that passive kindness, which they boast, not without reason, of showing to those who obey them in all things.

ITALY FROM 1821 TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

The effect produced by those abortive revolutions was very disastrous to Italy. They introduced over the whole country a hateful system of espionage, caused by suspicion in the rulers and dislike in the subjects, which was not soon relaxed, and has still left painful traces. However, the measures of this sort which were adopted, with

some which occasionally removed causes of complaint, were effectual in keeping the people tolerably quiet for about ten years. In Sicily a conspiracy broke out in 1822, and in 1828 a weak insurrection at Salerno was suppressed. Tuscany and Lombardy have remained tranquil under a mild despotism and thirty thousand Austrian bayonets; but the French revolution of 1830 gave an example which was followed next year by the States of the Church, by Modena, and by Parma.

We may be assisted in discovering causes for the insurrection in the Papal States, by examining one or two of the principal acts of the government since the death of Pius VII., which took place in 1823. On the 5th of October 1824, the new pope Leo XII. issued a "Motu-proprio" which annihilated at a blow the charter of 1816. It announced that the arrangements of his predecessor, "confessedly imperfect in many points," had now been revised by a commission of lawyers, who had reported to a congregation of cardinals; and, accordingly, a new system was proclaimed. As it has not survived the disturbances of 1831, it is enough to say, that, altering the plan of provincial administration, it wholly abolished the congregations; that it lessened the number and weakened the efficiency of the law-courts, and tacitly returned to the old barbarous forms of procedure; that it proclaimed, though it was unable to enforce, the restitution of all privileges to the nobility, and a new scheme of taxation; and that it either annihilated or rendered quite inoperative the municipal boards of the communes. The administration both of Leo and his successor, Pius VIII., was conducted in accordance with the spirit thus indicated. The arbitrary proceedings of the police became a universal pest; the administration of criminal justice was again secret, irresponsible, and inhumanly tedious; and, both in that department and in civil causes, the judges were openly charged with general venality. Besides all the old burdens, some new or obsolete ones were imposed, especially the *focalico*, a tax on every hearth, which weighed very heavily on the

peasantry ; and the customs were increased exorbitantly, while the government-monopolies were extended.

In Modena, it seemed to have been resolved, to sweep away every vestige that the French had left behind them. The old laws of the Este had been re-enacted, but were every day infringed by edicts of the prince, and by special commissions of justice. The university was subjected to new regulations, or rather was in its essence annihilated ; while the gratuitous elementary schools left by the government of Napoleon were removed, and nothing substituted except those taught by the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics. Even the personal freedom of the subject was invaded, not only by a most rigorous police, but by severe restrictions on travelling, harsher than those old ones which prevailed in Piedmont. The taxes were raised to nearly five times their amount under Napoleon ; and for the elective functionaries of the communes, the sovereign substituted young noblemen, chosen by himself.

The insurrection began in Modena, where, in the night of the 3d of February 1831, a body of conspirators were arrested in the house of Ciro Menotti. The people rose, and the duke fled to Mantua. On the 4th, being just two days after the election of Pope Gregory XVI., Bologna was in open revolt, organized a national guard, and, expelling the papal delegate, formed a provisional government. The rebellion spread over all Romagna, northward to Ferrara, and eastward into Umbria, embracing, in short, the greater part of the Roman State. At the same time, the Ex-empress Maria-Louisa fled from Parma, which was likewise in tumult. The subjects of the papal provinces declared openly against the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and on the 26th of February, deputies from all the revolted states united in proclaiming a new republic. The allied sovereigns did not lose a day in putting down the insurrection. On the 9th of March the Duke of Modena with an Austrian army retook his capital ; and, after some resistance, the Germans, before the end of the same month, had re-

stored to the Holy See all its possessions. In Modena, Menotti and Borelli, the leaders of the revolt, were hanged, and more than a hundred others were imprisoned for life. In Parma, Maria-Louisa acted mercifully, and voluntarily redressed some of the grievances of which her subjects, perhaps with less reason than their neighbours, had complained. In the Papal States, the general amnesty which had been proclaimed by the plenipotentiary, Cardinal Benvenuti, was broken ; a fact by no means in accordance with what might have been expected from the personal character of the pontiff himself. No executions took place, but many men were condemned to imprisonment for longer or shorter periods ; and the revolted provinces were left under the charge of troops, partly Austrians, partly hired Swiss, and partly native bands, who, it is peremptorily asserted by the Italians themselves, were mainly recruited from the galleys and the banditti of the mountains.

The leading powers of Europe interposed to recommend concessions by the pope to his subjects ; and, on the 5th of July 1831, the Holy Father issued a Motu-proprio, which, for the third time since 1814, altered the administration. It resumed much of the charter of 1816, retaining the division into delegations, and the subdivision of these into districts ; and it re-established the Congregation of Government in every delegation, and the Council in every commune. But it narrowed greatly the functions of the Congregations, which were merely to have a consultative voice, subject to the final decision of the delegate and the pope, on the finances of every delegation. And the new act did not give to the people even that share in election which, as to the communal boards, the decree of Consalvi had bestowed on them. The government in Rome names the members of the congregations, the delegate names those of the communal councils, who must be approved by the cardinal-secretary of state : and from the communal body, which the government has thus chosen, the same government again selects the members of the provincial councils.

Towards the end of the year 1831, likewise, the pope issued a new code of civil procedure in 11 titles, and one of criminal procedure in 8 books and 749 sections. Both systems were unquestionable improvements ; but both, and particularly the latter, left much that was miserably defective. The ecclesiastical courts were maintained in all their former prerogatives ; the delays which disgraced the criminal tribunals even more than the civil, were not removed ; the judges continued to be chiefly ecclesiastics, the choice of the prisoner's counsel was much narrowed, confrontation of witnesses was not made imperative, and the whole process was completely secret and almost completely irresponsible.

These changes were proclaimed by the papal government, and accepted by the ministers of foreign courts at Rome, as a fair compliance with all the just demands of the people. That Russia and Austria should be easily satisfied was no more than what might have been expected, nor was it very surprising that the court of Berlin followed their example. It is not so easy to discover why France, upon her own principles, chose to adopt the same policy. Mr Seymour, the English resident at Florence, although he was sent southward to observe the conference, was prevented from taking any direct part in it by those antiquated laws, which are understood to subject in consequences highly penal a British minister holding communication with the pope. He addressed, however, on the 7th of September 1832, a very firm remonstrance to the other ambassadors. He represented to them the utter want of conformity between the recommendations which the ministers of the Five Powers had addressed to the papal government on the 21st of May 1831, and the edicts which had been issued by his Holiness ; and he protested that the British government should stand acquitted from all responsibility for the consequences.*

* Prince Metternich's Note, addressed, on the 28th of July 1832, to Sir Frederick Lamb, the British Ambassador at Vienna, contains

The subjects of the Papal State did not conceal their disappointment at the pretended reforms. In December 1831, a general meeting of the government-boards of Bologna, Forli, and Ravenna, was held at the first of those cities, where it was determined to name a deputation, who should represent to the pope in person the state of the provinces on that side of the Apennine. The cabinet of the Vatican intimated that his Holiness would not receive the envoys; and repeated messages despatched to Cardinal Albani, the resident Legate, were treated with equal disregard. In January 1832, the eastern districts were again in insurrection; and the slaughter of forty inhabitants of Forli, men, women, and children, drove the people of the country nearly mad. Before the end of the month, the revolt was again suppressed by the Austrian grenadiers.

This new interposition, however, at length aroused

several most important admissions. 1. It admits that the offered reforms were indignantly rejected by a large part of the pope's subjects, who however, it is asserted (no doubt truly), would have been satisfied with nothing short of a complete emancipation from the papal rule. 2. It admits that the offered reforms did not come up to the recommendations of May 1831; but the Austrian cabinet, which interferes alike against Italian subjects and Italian princes when its own views are threatened, suddenly discovers the sacred obligation of non-intervention the moment such a discovery suits its purpose. "The Austrian cabinet, though prepared to concur in this object in the way of advice, has never recognised the right of imposing any thing on the Holy Father, and has invariably placed limits to its participation, traced by the respect due to the independence of this sovereign!" 3. The particulars in which the papal government was most obstinate, are thus specified. "The Holy Father refused **ONLY** two principal points: First, The admission of the principle of popular election, as a basis of the communal and provincial councils; Secondly, The proposed formation of a Council of State, composed of lay persons, co-ordinate with the sacred college, or rather in opposition to it." 4. After all, however, it seems the pope could not be trusted to reform his state without instructions and instructors from Vienna. "Experienced Austrian functionaries, well acquainted with Italy, have been placed at the disposal of the Roman government, in order to aid in introducing all practicable ameliorations in the difficult circumstances in which it is placed." This Note forms, in all its parts, one of the most instructive documents which we possess in recent Italian history.

Louis-Philippe, probably a little ashamed of the part he had already acted. On the 22d of February 1832, a French squadron, anchoring off Ancona, landed troops, which seized the town and citadel. Austria and its satellites professed high indignation at this interference ; but the act seems to be quite defensible on diplomatic grounds, in the position which France occupied as a guarantee of the papal kingdom ; and, at all events, the occupation has done much good, if it were only by giving the cabinet of Vienna open warning that, even in Italy, there are limits beyond which the double-headed eagle must not stretch his talons. A reign of anarchy, which ensued in Ancona, tempted the pope to excite the sneers even of his own subjects, by solemnly laying the city under the spiritual interdict. He acquiesced, however, in its occupation by the French, so long as any places in the country should be held by the Austrians ; and the latter continued to garrison Bologna and other towns. No subsequent insurrection of moment has yet occurred in the ecclesiastical dominions.

In the kingdom of Naples, Francis, the prince-vicar of 1820, succeeded his father, and ruled feebly but not unkindly for a few years, after which his throne devolved on his son, Ferdinand, then a youth of twenty-one. The character of this sovereign seems to bear a considerable likeness to that of his grandfather, in his good nature, his aversion to letters, and his relish for buffoonery ; besides which he has been lately charged with avarice, and with peremptory and unwise interference in the current business of the cabinet. The late misunderstanding with the British government as to the sulphur monopoly, has been attributed mainly to plans formed privately by himself, and executed in opposition to the earnest advices of the Prince of Cassaro and the most prudent of his other ministers. In general, however, Ferdinand seems to be personally popular ; and some of his measures have gratified the people, especially a reduction of the court-expenditure, a diminution of taxation, the dismissal of Canosa with other obnoxious coun-

sellors, and the formation of a national guard. But the unquiet Apulian spirit is not yet exorcised ; four or five political conspiracies or local insurrections were organized between 1830 and 1836, and since that date the newspapers have mentioned several disturbances. They also relate a new junction of the administrations of Naples and Sicily.

In 1833, there was discovered at Genoa, Alessandria, and several other points in the Sardinian states, a conspiracy which seems to have been considered very dangerous. The plotters were chiefly lawyers and officers in the army, several of whom were executed. Little attention is deserved by that foolish attempt which, in the spring of 1834, a few Polish and Italian refugees made to conquer Savoy, as the first step towards revolutionizing Italy.

In the autumn of 1838, the Austrian and French troops evacuated the papal states. On the 6th of September in that year, the Emperor Ferdinand, who rules through his father's old ministers, was invested at Milan with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, and did honour to the day by proclaiming an amnesty for political offences, which liberated Confalonieri and several other Italians after an imprisonment of nearly twenty years. This act, also, by quashing state-trials then pending in the courts of the kingdom, would have informed us, if we had not previously known the fact, that the Lombards were not completely subdued by all the severities which they had suffered. The proclamation extended to those who had emigrated to avoid trial, or the execution of sentences pronounced against them for contumacy ; but this clause was framed as if it had been intended expressly to show, that the Austrians must mar every gift they make by some trait of awkwardness or meanness. Emigrants who wished to remain abroad, were promised formal permission ; those who wished to return were offered leave to do so ; but both classes were required to apply by petition for the license within twelve months. Applications were instantly made, chiefly by refugees re-

siding in Paris ; and the answer was a declaration that certain persons, amounting, it is understood, to twelve or fourteen in all, were not meant to be included in the amnesty.

The design of these pages is confined to a simple narrative of events, and leaves the reader to form opinions for himself. Even in quitting finally the history of the Italian States, very few speculations shall be obtruded.

It is a question for the sovereigns of the peninsula, how far it consists with their honour to be vassals of Austria. It is a question for the other European cabinets, whether it is their duty or interest to acquiesce in such a dependence. For the people of Italy themselves there remain questions of infinitely greater difficulty ; questions not bearing reference merely to the effects wrought by the existing schemes of polity upon the happiness of the nation, but involving inquiries into the nature and amount of all necessary changes. In respect to none of these problems is it intended here to say a word.

But there are certain matters of fact and probability, upon which it would be wrong to keep silence. Were the rule of the Austrians, the Neapolitan Bourbons, or the Popes, in itself as benevolent and judicious as any that the world has ever seen, still it is certain that those upon whom it rests consider it a degrading bondage. This feeling may not often find words, still seldom may it issue in action ; yet it is now spread through society more extensively than ever. Probably, indeed, it derives not a little of its increasing ardour from the fact, that the generation now springing up have not felt how heavy was the sceptre of the military empire : a fire has been lighted in the forest, and the stormy rain has ceased which retarded the march of the conflagration. The governments allege that the revolutionary party embraces but a few persons, and these exclusively belonging to the educated classes :

their assertion is belied by the conduct which they still think it necessary to maintain towards all their subjects. Although it is among the most intelligent of the community that discontent has struck its deepest roots, yet among them it is diffused widely, and extends in many places to ecclesiastics as well as laymen. But, if we may trust the observation both of others and of ourselves, there are more states than one in which the principle of resistance has at length descended much lower in society. This fact may with considerable reason be suspected as to Naples and Austrian Lombardy : it is quite unquestionable as to the Papal Provinces on both sides of the Apennine, where the peasants (if they are once persuaded that they can speak with safety) may be heard professing with the same breath their reverence for the pope as the head of the church, and their hatred of all temporal rule exercised by the priesthood.

The Italians, in short, look anxiously for the day when new insurrections may be attempted with a chance of success ; but it is most earnestly to be hoped that no scenes will again be acted, resembling those which have convulsed the country during the last twenty years. Those friends of the nation who retain confidence in the principles upon which its affairs have been hitherto administered, will continue to expect improvements from the governors, and the growth of contentment among the governed. Those who are not so sanguine will perceive that resistance, whether it be considered morally right or wrong, is at all events utterly hopeless ; unless a time should come when Italy, instead of being threatened by half the armies of Europe, shall be allowed to fight out in a fair field her quarrel with her masters.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Topography of the Modern Italian Cities.

THE PAPAL STATES—Their Provinces—*The Christian City of Rome*—Its State in the Dark Ages—Rome in the Year 900—The Baronial City—Rise of the Modern City—Its Architectural Aspect—Its Three Districts—The Ancient Ruins—The Trans-tiberine City with the Vatican and Saint Peters—The City in the Campus Martius—Population and Municipality—Secondary Papal Cities—Bologna—Ravenna—Ferrara—THE SARDINIAN STATES IN ITALY—Historical Division—Turin—Its Aspect—Architecture—Genoa—Aspect—Churches—Palaces—Sardinian Cities—Cagliari—Sassari—THE LOMBARDO-VENETIAN KINGDOM—Historical Division—*Cities in Austrian Lombardy*—Milan—Monza—Pavia—Bergamo—Brescia—Cremona—Mantua—*Cities in Venetian Lombardy*—Venice—Its Site and Aspect—Padua—Vicenza—Verona—THE DUCHIES OF PARMA AND MODENA—Provinces—*Cities*—Parma—Piacenza—Modena—Reggio—THE GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY, WITH LUCCA—Historical Division—Florence—Its Neighbourhood—The Buildings of the City—Other Tuscan Cities—Pisa—Leghorn—Lucca—THE TWO SICILIES—*The City of Naples*—Its Extent—Scenery—The Seashore—The Interior—*Provincial Cities*—Cities in the Terra di Lavoro—In the Abruzzi—In the South—*Sicilian Cities*—Palermo—Messina—Catania—Girgenti—Siracusa—Trapani—Caltanissetta.

THE PAPAL STATES.

THE present territories of the popedom may be historically divided into ten sections. I. The Duchy of Rome, which is bounded by the sea from Terracina to the mouth of the Tiber, and thence by the river itself. This district, including the Campagna, with the Sabine and Volscian mountains, contains no large cities except its capital; and the most populous of its other towns contain

not more than from four to seven thousand inhabitants.

II. The Patrimony of Saint Peter, between the Tiber, the Tuscan frontier, and the sea ; a region scarcely less desert than the preceding.

III. The districts of Orvieto, Perugia, and Città di Castello.

IV. The ancient Duchy of Spoleto.

V. The March or Marquisate of Ancona, with which are usually grouped the Marches of Fermo and Camerino.

This fine province has several considerable towns.

VI. The Duchy of Urbino.

VII. Romagna in the Exarchate, whose ancient metropolis was Ravenna.

VIII. The district of Bologna, which is fertile and well cultivated, but has no large towns besides its chief city.

IX. The Duchy of Ferrara, with Comacchio.

X. The isolated territories in the kingdom of Naples, comprising the Duchy of Benevento and the district of Pontecorvo.*

THE CHRISTIAN CITY OF ROME.

The city of the Seven Hills has now existed nearly two thousand six hundred years. In a preceding chapter its topographical history was sketched down to the fall of the empire, when its age was more than twelve centuries : and its imperial splendour has been contrasted with the picture which its ruins exhibit at the present day. But a new Rome now stands within the walls of Aurelian ; and the modern city, which has had vicissitudes not less interesting than those of the old, scarcely encroaches on the ancient seat of the Republic, standing apart also from many of the most splendid buildings of

* *Principal Towns of the Ten Papal States in their order :—*

- I. Rome, 150,000 souls : Terracina, Velletri, Albano, and Frascati; Anagni, Alatri, Ferentino, and Frosinone ; Palestrina, Tivoli, and Subiaco ; Rieti.—II. Viterbo, 13,000 ; Cività Vecchia, (the Roman port), 6000.—III. Perugia, 30,000 ; Orvieto, 8000.
- IV. Spoleto, 7000 ; Foligno, 9000 ; Terni, 5000 ; Assisi, 4000.
- V. Ancona, 30,000 ; Loreto, 8000 ; Macerata, 12,000 ; Fabriano, 7000 ; Camerino, 7000 ; Fermo, 7000 ; Ascoli, 12,000.
- VI. Urbino, 7000 ; Pesaro, 12,000 ; Fano, 15,000 ; Sinigaglia, 8000 ; Gubbio, 4000.—VII. Ravenna, 16,000 ; Imola, 8000 ; Faenza, 14,000 ; Forli, 16,000 ; Cesena, 12,000 ; Rimini, 15,000.
- VIII. Bologna, 70,000 ; Cento, 4000.—IX. Ferrara, 24,000
- Commachio, 5000 — X. Benevento, 14,000 ; Pontecorvo, 5000.

the imperial metropolis. Its rise, however, has caused very material changes on all the classical monuments ; and the present outline of the progress of Christian Rome is necessary even for completing our acquaintance with the antique ruins.*

Since the fall of the Empire, two cities have successively risen on the site of the Pagan palaces, and among the graves of the Christian martyrs. The earlier of the two, the Rome of the Middle Ages, began to disappear in the course of the fifteenth century : it sank yet more rapidly after the accession of Julius II. in the beginning of the sixteenth ; and a hundred years later it had ceased to exist. Modern Rome can hardly be said to date from an earlier epoch than the pontificate of Sixtus V. ; but its streets and squares were almost all completed within a century after that reign.

To open the way towards a proper understanding of the history of the papal city, we must survey the destruction of ancient Rome from the beginning of the fifth century till the end of the ninth.

The earliest destroyers were the clergy, who, in the ages next after Constantine, certainly instigated, from religious motives, the demolition of a few heathen temples. But the injury they inflicted was chiefly of another kind. The emperors and nobles, soon imitated by the popes, erected innumerable churches and monasteries, for which the materials, columns, marbles, and even the lime, were procured by breaking down ancient shrines and palaces. In this period we can enumerate eighty or ninety new Christian edifices.† Of these four only can

* In the following sketch a good deal has been derived from Fea and Hobhouse, but greatly more from the *Beschreibung*.

† The particulars of the list (which is calculated from Plattner in the *Beschreibung*) are in some sort an index to the state of the Roman church in those five successive centuries. The numbers of the ecclesiastical buildings are : In the fifth century, 36 ; in the sixth, 4 ; in the seventh, 17 ; in the eighth, 12 ; in the ninth, 14. The numbers are below the truth, and the names are not given by Plattner as a complete list.

be identified as heathen temples transformed ;* and for constructing the rest the classical buildings were demolished. The marbles of Rome were even carried across the sea, and built into Charlemagne's palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. The second cause of destruction was the series of wars which continued throughout the whole range of the fifth and sixth centuries. The northern nations were indeed less mischievous than the clergy and the pious emperors, because less frequently present ; but in their repeated inroads they committed great devastation. From the beginning of the fourth century, likewise, internal commotions had begun to anticipate the anarchy which was to rule in a later age ; and we hear of several conflagrations during the formidable tumults which occurred in the frequent struggles for the empire or the popedom. But the city suffered also from natural causes. It was neglected by its imperial masters ; its few remaining nobles became constantly poorer ; the very diminution in the number of bondmen brought the population very low ; some ages elapsed before the popes were able to reinstitute those distributions of food to the people which the latest emperors had discontinued ; and deserted dwellings as well as public edifices mouldered where they stood. The wrath of Heaven itself seemed as if visibly manifested. The lightning repeatedly shattered the buildings ; and famines, pestilences, earthquakes, and inundations of the Tiber, evils which usually accompanied each other, prompted the desponding prophecy of Saint Benedict, that Rome should triumph over man, but perish slowly under the hand of God.

It is difficult to form a distinct image of the doomed city during the increasing misery of those five ages. The ruins had not yet choked up the valleys ; and the erection of the column of Phocas in the year 608, shows

* Santo Stefano Rotondo (?) by Pope Simplicius (468-483) : SS. Cosma e Damiano, by Felix IV. (526-530) : Santa Maria ad Martyres, or the Pantheon, by Boniface IV. (608) : Santa Maria in Cosmedin, by Adrian I. (772-795).

that the ancient pavement of the Forum was still at the surface. But there were large and increasing tracts of waste ground within the walls. The soldiers of Belisarius, in the famine which assailed them during their blockade by the Goths, sowed corn on the unoccupied spots ; in the second siege by Totila, the imperial governor raised within Rome as much corn as he thought would be sufficient for the subsistence of his garrison and the citizens ; and early in the ninth century the Abbots of Farfa received an imperial grant of a farm, whose site is still marked by the chapel of Santa Bibiana. We must suppose the region of the Forum still inhabited in that age. The palace of the Cæsars stood three hundred years later, though certainly decayed and perhaps uninhabitable ; for the Emperor Henry V., at his coronation, feasted with his nobles in the halls of the Palatine. Dwellers were then to be found on portions of the Pincian Hill now desolate ; the Aventine had two parish churches, which indicates a considerable population ; and the Cælian, containing the palace of the Roman Laterani, converted into the episcopal residence, formed a little ecclesiastical town by itself. On the opposite side of the Tiber there gradually arose another suburb round the church of Saint Peter. Foreign pilgrims formed groups of national hospices on the sacred ground, the Anglo-Saxons being among the earliest ; and Pope Leo IV. consecrated the walls he had built round the Vatican, naming it the Civitas Leonina. Churches and convents were then the ornamental buildings of the pontifical city, and stood amidst decaying palaces, temples, and theatres, or in lanes of huts inhabited by the poor, who seem indeed to have often found permanent dwellings among the ruins.

From the year 900 there followed a period of five centuries, which, for Rome, belonged to the dark ages. The erection of new churches, and the repairing of old ones, continued till stopped by the emigration of the popes to Avignon ; but both zeal and ability were on the wane, and during those five hundred years we can

reckon barely forty new churches, several of which were mere renewals.* The city was twice taken and sacked in 1084, first by the Emperor Henry IV. and next by Robert Guiscard, the Norman. These two captures, especially the latter, may be considered as having perfected the desolation of the Seven Hills; and though we cannot trace the successive steps of the migration into the Campus Martius, it was certainly complete, and the dwellings nearly on their present ground, within a century afterwards.

The city had now an original feature added to its churches and monasteries, namely, the fortresses of the warlike nobility. Either by strength of hand, or, as it often happened, by grants from the emperor and the popes, the barons acquired as property the most extensive and massive of the ancient edifices. These they fortified as castles: the amphitheatres and tombs which still exist in ruins, have repeatedly stood assaults and sieges; and on several of them the bastions of the middle ages hide the classical ornaments. This strange transformation prevailed without intermission through the whole of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; the fierce feuds continued during the thirteenth and fourteenth; but the older strongholds were then sufficient without erecting many new ones. Though Brancaleone destroyed more than a hundred such towers, yet Martin V., who was consecrated in 1417, found as many as forty in one suburb; and executions of the lawless barons were necessary in the latest decades of that age. The Frangipani, in the twelfth century, possessed the Colosseum (in which they have left some traces), the Arch of Titus, the Arch of Janus, the Circus Maximus, and the Septizonium of Severus on the Palatine. The Orsini held the Mole of Hadrian and the Theatre of Pompey; the Colonna had Constantine's Baths, and the Tomb of Augustus; the

* Plattner's chronicle gives us names from which we gather the following results: In the tenth century, 2 new churches; in the eleventh, 3; in the twelfth, 18; in the thirteenth, 16; in the fourteenth, 1.

Corsi had the Capitol ; and the Savelli, who had fortified the Theatre of Marcellus, occupied at one time the Pantheon as a citadel for the pope, and a castle called Johannipolis, of which the Basilica of S. Paul formed an outwork. When the ruins were for a time abandoned, vegetation seized rapidly on the pozzuolana-earth which was their cement, and in the twelfth century the Tomb of Augustus is described as a garden. The Column of Trajan served as the belfry of a neighbouring convent. The barons erected few fortresses from the foundation ; but there still rise in the midst of Rome four or five square towers of brick, which belong to those gloomy times. The most conspicuous are the Tor de' Conti on the side of the Quirinal, and the neighbouring Tor delle Milizie. On the Aventine, and encumbering the cloisters of Santa Sabina, we may trace the largest stronghold of the Savelli, with the papal palace which one of the family, Honorius IV., erected on its ruins.

In 1430 Poggio Bracciolini surveyed Rome from the Capitol, and wrote his celebrated lamentation over it. From his description, and a few other sources, we may gather some striking features of the landscape he saw or might have seen. His seat was the sunken marble doorway of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter ; and the fallen columns and walls of that shrine, with the vaults of the Tabularium, still existing, were the only visible ruins on the mount. The rest were hidden under the deep soil of vineyards and among mounds of rubbish. A mansion for the senator, however, had been already built on the Intermontium, on the place where the modern palace stands : and the space before it, where is now the statue of Marcus Aurelius, was then the site of the weekly markets, and covered by the tradesmen's booths. At the foot of the Tarpeian rock, from the temple which has been lately called that of Vespasian, workmen were taking down the columns ; and in the area of the Temple of Concord was a furnace for burning their marbles into lime. The Roman Forum was already, as now, deeply covered with ruins, and these with soil, form-

ing an uneven plain, above which projected the half-buried arches and temples. The eminences were enclosed as herb-gardens ; and in the hollows, again become marshy as in the days of Romulus, grazed buffaloes and swine. The Palatine was much like what it is in our own time, a heap of vegetation and massy fragments. The Aventine was unhealthy and deserted ; and its convents, its churches, and the castle of the Savelli, rose as now among vineyards and huts. A similar picture was presented by the Cælian and Esquiline Mounts, which were then as completely abandoned as they are at this day. The Viminal seems to have retained some part of its population, and the Quirinal a little more. The Colosseum, divided into three parts, comprehended a castle of the Frangipani, another of the Annibaldi, and an hospital of the confraternity of the Sancta Sanctorum. The former family had their lodging in a stronghold constructed among the ruins of the Palatine, near the Arch of Titus ; and a few similar towers may have been inhabited by the followers of the barons upon the other hills.

But the inhabited city lay properly on the opposite side of the Capitoline Hill ; being bounded between that height, the Janiculan and Vatican Mounts, and the modern Corso. On the right bank of the river, the Trastevere and the Leonine City composed two unconnected suburbs, the latter of which was fast rising into distinction from its containing the most popular church, as well as the favourite residence of the pope. On the other side, in the city proper, a few dwellings had risen, making some pretensions to architectural taste, though only miserable attempts at imitation of the antique. We have a curious example in the ruined house, used as a stable and hay-loft, which stands near the Tiber at the foot of the Aventine, and is called by the people the House of Pontius Pilate, and by the guides the House of Rienzi. Rienzi indeed lived far off, between the Jews' quarter and the tragically celebrated palace of the Cenci ; but an inscription ascertains the House of Pilate to have been built by one Nicolaus, son of Crescentius and Theodora ; and it is an

attractive yet not very bold opinion which makes Nicolaus to have been the son of the unfortunate consul and his yet more unhappy wife. Generally, however, the dwellings were either fortresses like those already described, or wretched cabins built among the classical ruins. The busy quarter of the city, the residence of the artisans, is still identified by the names of the streets which run along the river-bank, from the Piazza Montanara to the Bridge of Sant' Angelo. These were then narrow lanes, in many of which two horsemen could not have ridden abreast ; and the difficulty of bringing cannon to bear on the people in those confined passes was one reason of state which encouraged the popes in demolishing the old houses. Two streets (perhaps three) kept the direction of ancient roads :—the Suburra, on the side of the Quirinal, which, however, was already nearly deserted, but has transmitted its classical name to the nineteenth century ; and the Corso, which was in the line of the Via Flaminia. These may have had some part of the ancient pavement : the other streets had none at all. There were uninhabited spots even within the verge of the town we have thus traced. The Corso contained only mean houses, thinly spread and placed among ancient tombs, triumphal arches, or gardens ; and the whole space northward from the church of Sant' Agostino was an open field. The city ramparts were encumbered with stones and rubbish ; and passage from one gate to another was impracticable on either side of the wall.

From the termination of the great schism in 1417, the popes were intent on improving the city. They now saw the necessity of forming streets, aqueducts, and bridges, as well as building churches and palaces. The principal renovations began with Sixtus IV., who widened many of the lanes, and restored an ancient bridge which has preserved his name. Alexander VI. was an active improver ; but the greatest reformer of the time was the fierce and hasty Julius II., the founder of the new Saint Peters. The character of the city gradually changed, and the short reign of Sixtus V. completed its

transformation into its present shape. The seventeenth century, though it scarcely made Rome, as a whole, more modern than Sixtus had left it, added many new and very prominent buildings: the eighteenth century did comparatively little, and that little tended towards deterioration.*

The alterations suffered by the city during the last two centuries have been explained as far as seemed necessary, in the sections on modern architecture. Its architectural aspect is that of the declining half of the sixteenth century, united with the imposing splendour and false taste of the seventeenth. The classical ruins stand aloof; the churches of the middle and dark ages are in the background; and only a few castle-like mansions, such as that of the Cenci, or the massive Palace of S. Mark, stand out prominently to recall to us, with the gloomy Tower of the Conti, the savage fierceness of the baronial ages. The picture which modern Rome presents is one which displeases taste; it is also sad and silent; but it has a vastness of proportion, and a wealth of ornament, which would be striking even without the aid of association. Ecclesiastical buildings every where occupy the foreground: in all the narrow streets the eye is caught by churches with a few domes and many elaborate façades, or by monastic cloisters with their dark length of front; amidst which are scattered the residences of the fallen nobles, several of them sumptuous, many of them vast, and some picturesque. These features unite with gardens and villas, the six obelisks, the nine squares or piazze, the five bridges, and the huge circuit of the ramparts, to complete the scene which the modern town exhibits. The inhabitants boast truly that the pope could say mass in a different church every day of the year; for

* Plattner's lists may again assist us, as comparative estimates. They give us:—in the sixteenth century, churches and convents 60, palaces and public buildings not ecclesiastical 34; in the seventeenth, churches, &c. 55, palaces, &c. 22; in the eighteenth, churches, &c. 23, palaces, &c. 6.

the number is above 360, though very many are always shut, and many more are unlocked only on the day of the patron saint. Fifty-four are parochial churches, and about 100 belong to confraternities, among which twelve or fourteen are national, between thirty and forty are associations of the craftsmen, and the rest are those congregations of which we shall soon learn some particulars. A large proportion, too, belong to the monastic orders, which, in the end of last century, occupied a hundred and four monasteries, and forty-three nunneries. The cloisters still exist, but a good many now want inhabitants. About eighty Roman palaces find their way into the guide-books.

The space within the walls may be divided into three parts.

I. The most attractive, which is the last to meet the eye of a stranger entering from the north, contains the ancient city, and has been already described.

II. The second is the quarter on the right bank of the river, formed by the union of the Vatican suburb with that of the Trastevere, which Sixtus V. joined by the long street called the Lungara, skirting the foot of the Janiculan Mount. The former suburb is rendered the most interesting spot in the modern city, by the presence of Saint Peters and the Vatican Palace. The Lungara contains the Corsini Palace, the Farnesina, and few other objects of attraction. The Trastevere is at once mean and ruinous, but is visited for the sake of the view from the brow of the mount, the grave of Tasso, and some curious old churches.

These suburbs together embrace the last two of the fourteen municipal Rioni or wards, into which, for several centuries, the city has been divided. These, indeed, have lost their councils, their trained-bands, and their captains or Caporioni ; but they still retain their distinctive banners ; and in two of them,—the Monti (including the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Mounts), and the Trastevere,—the lower class of the inhabitants are a peculiar race. The two groups much resemble each

other, though the latter has the peculiarities of descent most strongly marked. Both the *Montigiani* and the *Trasteverini* are fiercely national, and distinguished by many peculiar customs ; and they agree in looking with contempt on the other Romans, whom they call by a contemptuous nickname.

But the residence of the Pope and his metropolitan church deserve a more minute description.

The palace of the Vatican is a pile immense in size, though irregular and far from splendid ; its architecture, excepting Bernini's celebrated staircase and the court of the Loggie, is in no way remarkable ; and it consists of many parts erected at different times. The permanent residence of the pontiffs in this place commenced at their return from Avignon in 1377. The structure, erected by Nicholas III. in 1280, then occupied the greater part of the site (touching the modern court of the Belvedere) now covered by the division of the palace called the Tor di Borgia. The unlucky John XXIII. built the covered gallery, still in existence, which leads from the mansion to the castle of Sant' Angelo. Nicholas V., who formed the design of converting the palace into a group of buildings which should eclipse every royal seat in Europe, was able to do no more than renew the older edifice ; and the chapel containing Fra Angelico's paintings is the only part which now remains as it stood at the accession of Alexander VI. This pope, from whose family name of Borgia the old residence derives its modern appellation, reduced that part of the building nearly to its present state ; and Sixtus IV. added the Sistine Chapel. In the end of the fifteenth century, under Innocent VIII., Antonio Pollajuolo erected, on an eminence about 400 paces from the palace, a beautiful villa called the Belvedere ; and Julius II. not only adorned this villa with the renowned Loggie, but committed to Bramante the task of connecting it with the main dwelling. According to this artist's magnificent plan, the large rectangular space, shut in at one end by the palace and at the other by the villa, was to be closed

by galleries on the sides, and divided in its length by a terrace crossing it. That half of the ground which lay between the terrace and the villa, was to form a garden ; the other half, which was lower, and terminated at the palace, was to be converted into an amphitheatre or lists for the tournaments and bull fights. This grand design was completed under Sixtus V., who, however, made many alterations, and, in particular, destroyed the splendid unity of the rectangle by building across it, at one side of the terrace, the halls still occupied as the Vatican Library. Sixtus also commenced, and Clement VIII. finished, on the side of the court of the Loggie opposite to the Tor di Borgia, an entirely new palace which continues to be the papal residence. Minor alterations, on the old palace and on the Belvedere, took place both before and after the completion of the new edifice. With the erection of Bernini's Scala Regia under Urban VIII., the structure was completed, excepting the additions and alterations which were made in the last century by Clement XIV. and Pius VI. for their Pio-Clementine Museum. In the present age it has received no addition except Pius VII.'s building called the Braccio Nuovo, which runs parallel to the library, and covers part of the site of Bramante's terrace. The labyrinth of edifices which nearly four centuries have been required to produce, covers an extent of ground which might contain a small town, and, with the gardens, is hyperbolically said by the Romans to be as large as Turin. It is asserted to contain no fewer than 11,000 halls, chapels, and other apartments.

The old basilica of Saint Peters, the state of which down to Charlemagne's time has been already described, suffered various alterations during the middle ages. In 1450 Nicholas V. began the new edifice ; but the design was dropped on his death, and not taken up again till the pontificate of Julius II., who, on the 18th of April 1506, laid the foundation-stone of the present church, destroying the last remnants of the old one. The plan

was Bramante's, and the pile was to be in the form of a Greek cross, with a cupola in the centre between two belfries, and a portico of six columns in front. That architect reared the four piers of the cupola, and commenced other parts of the building ; but between the time of his death and the middle of Paul III.'s pontificate, nothing was done except the invention of magnificent plans, by the painter Raffaelle, Peruzzi, and the younger Sangallo. The last of these was succeeded by Michel Angelo, who discarded his design, and made a model of his own, liker to Peruzzi's than to any of the others. He restored the Greek cross, and surrounded the great cupola with four smaller ones.

Buonarroti was continually thwarted and annoyed ; and, though the church in its present shape may be regarded as commencing with him, he was able to execute but a very small portion of his great design. He strengthened Bramante's piers for the second time, reared over them the drum of the cupola to the beginning of the vault, and erected the two tribunes of the transept. His successors, Vignola and the antiquary Pirro Ligorio, did little or nothing ; under Sixtus V. Giacomo Della Porta and Domenico Fontana erected the double vault of the cupola ; and the lantern, ball, and cross were added under Gregory XIV., the dome being thus completed. At Giacomo's death in 1601, Michel Angelo's plan had been wholly executed except the façade and portico ; but the new architect, Carlo Maderno, disdained to be instructed. Paul V. and the college of cardinals, by a unanimous vote, commissioned him to add about 160 feet to the length of the nave ; and in 1614, he had completed these additions and the façade, excepting the two vestibules at the ends of the portico. These also having been finished, Urban VIII. dedicated the church on the 18th of November 1626, a hundred and twenty years after the building began. In the reign of Alexander VII., Bernini erected the splendid colonnade of the piazza in front of the church, and the galleries which lead from the colonnade to each end of the

portico ; and with these operations, commenced in 1667, the edifice may be regarded as complete. Mosaics and other ornaments have since been added at various times in the interior ; and in the reign of Pius VI. Carlo Marchionni built the richly-ornamented and ill-designed Sacristy, a detached building at one side of the church. According to Carlo Fontana's treatise, the expense, down to 1694, was about 47,000,000 Roman crowns, or nearly £10,000,000 sterling ; but this estimate is far within the mark, and does not include either the immense cost of alterations, or that of the mosaics, plate of the altars, and other internal ornaments. The support and repairs of the building, including the salaries of the officials, amount annually to more than 30,000 crowns or £6250. The state of the cupola has several times excited alarm, and it has been repeatedly banded with iron.

Saint Peters is approached through a shabby suburb, for the removal of which, and the erection of a splendid communication between the river and the church, one plan was proposed in the end of the seventeenth century, and another was on the point of being executed by Napoleon. Emerging from a narrow street, we come at once upon a scene which is certainly one of the most striking on earth. Before us is an oval space of vast extent, round which on each side sweeps Bernini's magnificent colonnade, crowned with its balustrade and colossal statues, and terminating in the pilastered galleries. Two simple fountains play in the open ground, and an Egyptian obelisk in its centre leads the eye to the broad lofty flight of steps by which the church is approached. The huge façade crowns the summit of the ascent ; over it rises the gigantic dome with its two lesser cupolas ; and the dingy piles of the Vatican close the view on one side.

Though the spectacle presented by the exterior is fine, Maderno's front does all it can to spoil it, shrinking back in timid flatness from the graceful sweep of the colonnade, and at the same time contriving by its height and the

length of the nave nearly to hide the majestic cupola of Bramante and Michel Angelo. The length of the nave injures also the interior, by preventing us from seeing the vault of the dome till we have advanced far up the church ; and the want of apparent magnitude, which strikes every one so strongly, is and remains a fault, after all the theories that have been framed on it. With these blemishes and many defects of detail, the interior of S. Peters is still unequalled ; and no spectacle can excel its magnificence when the vast hall is thronged with worshippers, and the central altar occupied by officiating priests. Then the immensity of the pile is fully apparent ; amidst the variety of costumes and figures, the over-richness of ornament ceases to be perceived ; and the feelings of sympathy and religion unite with those inspired by the edifice itself, unapproached in its union of gigantic dimensions, of good proportions, and of luxuriance in decoration. The nave is vaulted, and its sides are formed of piers, containing Corinthian pilasters, and supporting arches. Instead of uninterrupted side-aisles, the church has lateral chapels which are entered through the great arches of the nave, and do not communicate with each other. As we pass along, we see the vault and other places blazing with gilding ; precious marbles of various colours are profusely disposed every where ; statues and relics project from the walls and tombs ; rich ornaments of the precious metals glitter about the altars ; and mosaic copies of pictures complete the scene.

The piazza of the colonnade is an ellipse, the major axis of which is 777 English feet within the columns. These are disposed in four rows, extending together to a width of fifty-nine feet. In Maderno's hideous front of the church, Corinthian columns with pilasters rise to a height of ninety-one feet ; above these is an entablature eighteen feet in height ; and over it again stands a heavy attic of the height of thirty-one feet, topped by a stone balustrade, on which stand colossal statues. The whole height of the front is 145 feet, and its width 365. The

vestibule, sixty-five feet in height, is divided into a central hall and a smaller one at each end, terminated by Bernini's statues of Constantine and Charlemagne.

The length of the church, from the principal entrance to the end of the tribune, is 601 feet, or, reckoning the vestibule and the thickness of the walls, 686 ; the height in the portion built before Maderno's time, is 145 feet, and in his part, nearest to the door, 150 ; the width of the nave in the older portion is eighty-nine feet, in Maderno's seventy-seven and a half. The whole length of the aisle or series of lateral chapels is 203 feet, the width on each side twenty-one, and the height forty-seven. The number of altars is thirty. Bernini's bronze tabernacle, raised on its twisted columns to a height of ninety-three feet in all, stands beneath the dome, and overhangs the altar. In front of the altar is the Confession or Sepulchral Chapel of the Saint. The free length of the transept from wall to wall is 446 feet. From the pavement to the foot of the lantern, the great Cupola rises 400 feet, from the pavement to the summit of the cross outside 430 ; and each of the huge piers on which it rests has a circumference of 232 feet. The diameter of the drum from which the cupola rises, including walls, is 193 feet ; the circumference of the octagonal base of the cupola 623.*

III. The third division of Rome, being the inhabited portion on the left bank of the Tiber, embraces about one-fourth of the area within the walls.

Foreigners usually enter it from the northern gate, the Porta del Popolo, answering to the old Flaminian. This entrance has undergone much improvement since the peace, and forms a pleasing landscape. A spacious square, with churches, statues, and an obelisk, is closed on the left by the Pincian Mount, now formed into a terraced public garden : in front, the area presents to us

* The total length of S. Paul's Cathedral is 514 feet ; its width 286 ; the height, to the top of the cross, 370 ; the diameter of the cupola (externally) 145.

the openings of three diverging streets. That in the centre, named the Corso, which is the Mall of Rome, runs nearly south. It is narrow, generally lofty, and adorned with several splendid mansions, and leads almost to the foot of the Capitol, terminating at the castellated Palace of Saint Mark. The street to the right, or west, called the Via di Ripetta, from the small wharf which skirts it at one point, ends near the Piazza Navona, the modern place of the weekly market.

Between that point, the south-west side of the Capitol, and the river, is a large triangular space, closely occupied with buildings, and containing the Farnese Palace, Bramante's Cancellaria, a few handsome churches, and some antiquities. It is however chiefly inhabited by artisans, as it was in the middle ages ; and at its southern extremity, near the foot of the Capitoline Mount, there has been, ever since 1557, the Ghetto or quarter of the Jews, a group of mean lanes cut off by walls from the surrounding streets, and accessible by two gates, which the police lock every night. The district between the Corso and the Via di Ripetta is of a mixed character. Its chief objects are the Tomb of Augustus, not far from the northern gate ; the large Borghese Palace ; the tribunals of the Monte Citorio ; the Collegio Romano ; and the Pantheon, in front of which is a small filthy square used as the herb-market. The Capitoline Mount, which terminates the very acute triangle included between these two main streets and their continuations, has a Franciscan church and convent on its Feretria sum-
mit,—the Palace of the Senator with its flanking edifices and square on the Intermontium,—a few palaces, and many mean houses, with some gardens, on its Capitoline summit,—and, between it and the Palatine, the cemetery of executed criminals.

The half of the city which lies on the left, or east, of the Corso, is decidedly the aristocratic region ; but here as elsewhere the mechanics' shops attach themselves very closely to the mansions of the nobles and prelates. Its first division is closed by the Via del Babuino, the third

of the three streets which diverge from the northern gate. The Piazza di Spagna, at the foot of the fine staircase leading up to the church of the Trinità on the Pincian Mount, divides the line of the Babuino, and is the centre of the quarter inhabited by the English and other wealthy foreigners. The Quirinal Mount, which closes the triangle between the Corso and Babuino, contains on its summits and skirts several of the most magnificent Roman mansions ; among which stands the palace of the Quirinal, the pope's summer residence, besides other public buildings, and the Rospigliosi palace. On the slope of the hill are the Colonna gardens, leading down to the splendid mansion of the family, opposite to which is the Bracciano palace. Just beyond these, a mean district, in the midst of which has been cleared out the Forum of Trajan, commences in the valley between the Palatine and the Quirinal, and leads along the southern slopes of the latter over a portion of the Viminal. It carries us across into a fourth leading line of streets, which diverges nearly from the same point as the three others, and may be said to bound the inhabited district on the left of the Corso. It begins on the Pincian Mount above the Piazza di Spagna, descends that hill in a south-easterly direction, and crosses the Viminal, and thence the Esquiline, where it finds the splendid church of Santa Maria Maggiore and the deserted Villa Negroni or Montalto, the retreat of Sixtus V. The rest of its course is through vineyards and gardens to the south-eastern angle of the city-wall, where it ends at the solitary basilican church of Santa Croce in Gierusalemme ; and in another secluded spot beside the walls, a little farther west, stands the Lateran church with its palace and other attached buildings.

Several of the villas, without and within the walls, are exceedingly beautiful. Perhaps the finest is that of the Prince Ludovisi, standing in a park two miles in circuit, on the eastern flank of the Pincian Hill ; the villa Albani is celebrated for its antique collection of the eighteenth century, and the skilful adaptation of

its architecture to the purposes of the edifice ; and beyond the city-wall, on the Janiculan summit, lie the artificial but romantic grounds of the villa Doria-Pamfili, a wilderness of casinos, pine-trees, and cypresses, ancient tombs, canals, fountains, and arbour-walks. But these mansions are a few only amongst many, and will not seem to every one the most attractive of the number.

In the fifth century we left ancient Rome with a population of a million ; and at most points of the period last reviewed, the number of the inhabitants is doubtful. It is asserted, that, in the second half of the thirteenth century, it had sunk to 35,000, and even (though this is scarcely possible) that, before the return of the papal court from Avignon, it amounted to no more than 17,000. The population rose in the fifteenth century ; under Leo X. it was rated at 80,000 ; and it increased uninterruptedly till the French invasion. Between 1700 and 1795, it had risen from 130,000 to about 170,000 ; but it is a curious fact, that the increase has been kept up, not by births within the city (which are usually equalled or exceeded by the number of deaths), but by a steady tide of immigration from the provinces, especially those of the ecclesiastical state and the Neapolitan mountains. It is said that a Roman, in the lower ranks, who can count four generations of ancestors in the city, is a kind of prodigy. The middle class are extremely scanty in numbers compared with the lower orders ; and in very few generations they either sink into the populace or disappear among the inferior nobility. The trade of Rome is not extensive, though it supplies a tolerably large district, embracing the surrounding mountains and Umbria ; but, among the manufactures, those of the fine arts, leather, and violin-strings, are alone industriously practised. The lower nobles number, perhaps, two or three hundred families : they are chiefly poor, and might be believed to have been always so, were it not for the spacious mansions, in which some of them inhabit a corner. In the highest rank of nobility stand upwards

of thirty princely houses, among which are several old historical names ; the Colonna, Orsini, Conti, and others. The Frangipani have disappeared, but are said to exist in the north of Italy. Most of the richest aristocratic families have been raised from the dust by popes elected out of their number ; and it is indeed an established point of etiquette, that a pope's nephew ranks as a noble of the first class. The wealthiest of such families are the Ludovisi, Chigi, and Doria-Pamfili ; and the Borghese and Barberini are of the same class. The latest additions to the golden book of the Capitol, include the family of Torlonia the banker and that of the Buonaparte. The French occupation, with its attendant calamities of slaughter, famine, and contagious disease, brought down the population to 115,000, which was the number in 1813. Since 1823, it has again steadily risen ; and in 1836, it amounted to 153,000, of whom 5545 were ecclesiastics, including 2023 monks and friars, and 1476 nuns. The increase lately seems to be nearly at a stand. Foreigners visiting Rome every winter, several thousands in number, are excluded from the calculations. .

A body of statutes, collected and methodized in 1580, gave to the city a peculiar municipal constitution. The Senator, who was required to be a foreigner and doctor of laws, acted as podestà, and was assisted in his duties by three Judges : the three Conservators were the governors of the city. The people had two assemblies. Their Secret Council, of 120 persons, which was quite powerless, was partly composed of the magistrates for the time and their immediate predecessors, with other official members. The other, the Common Council, consisted of all male citizens, and elected the other Council, the Senator and Judges once in two years, and the Conservators every four months. No discussion was allowed in the assemblies ; the initiative belonged exclusively to the magistrates ; and the votes were taken by ballot. The popular assemblies disappeared very speedily ; the functions of the magistracies endured longer ; but all has now vanished except the titles of Senator and Conservators,

which are conferred as honorary distinctions on native nobles. Their holders figure at court and in processions; and their duties are discharged by the Governor of the City, a prelate appointed by the supreme authorities.

SECONDARY CITIES IN THE PAPAL STATES.

Bologna, situated in a beautiful and fertile plain, touched by the lowest slopes of the Apennine, is defended by brick walls, enclosing a circuit of more than five miles. It is an extremely favourable specimen of towns in the middle ages, with just enough of modern addition to hide from us the harsher features.

The most obvious peculiarity in its style is the multitude of covered arcades on each side of the streets. Several churches and convents are interesting; and nothing in Italy, except the piazze of S. Mark and S. Peter, is so picturesque as its great square, to which John of Bologna's fountain in the centre, gives its name of the Piazza del Gigante. The buildings which surround this square belong almost without exception to the middle ages. The Palazzo Publico dates from the end of the thirteenth century; and the boldly marked Palazzo of the Podestà must be still older, since, for twenty-two years, beginning with 1249, it was the prison of King Heinsius, the son of Frederic II., and the tower which rises over it on arcades was built as a station from which to watch the captive prince. The Bolognese can still speak of Enzio, and tell us how a lady of their city, Lucia Ventagoli, was his mistress during his long captivity. In another quarter, we find the two leaning towers, the Garisenda and Tor degli Asinelli, tall square piles of brick, older than Dante, who commemorates the former. The public Picture-gallery is excellent in specimens of the native school; and the University attracts us by its ancient fame, whose bloom was withered before the rise of the present edifice in the sixteenth century.

Three objects beyond the walls are as interesting as any thing within them. The first is the Cistercian Monas-

tery, on the plain, which, in 1801, was converted into a public burying-ground ; an example which has since had the effect of nearly banishing from every town in Italy the dangerous practice of interring in the churches and cloisters. The second is the Church of the Madonna di San Luca, placed on the hill of La Guardia, three miles from the city, and approached by a covered arcade, extending without interruption from the gate, and containing 635 arches. This gallery was erected in less than a century, beginning in 1675, by the devotion of the inhabitants. The third object is the deserted Olivetan convent of San Michele in Bosco, on a height immediately overlooking the walls. It is hardly less attractive for its own desolate picturesqueness, than for the ruins of its noble frescoes, the masterpieces of the Caracci.

Ravenna, after the indication of its Gothic antiquities already given, claims only a glance, for its poetical pine-wood of twenty-five miles, immortalized by Boccaccio, Dryden, and Byron, and for the tomb of Dante, a poor edifice built in 1780. Two miles from the town, on the banks of the river Ronco, a pillar marks the spot on which Gaston de Foix was slain, in the battle of Ravenna. The scanty population of the city poorly befits the metropolis of three successive Italian kingdoms.

Ferrara has an aspect worthy of its melancholy recollections. Round it is the desolate Polesina ; the Po threatens to overwhelm it, and one day will do so ; its walls have a compass of seven miles, and its population was once little short of 100,000. A large proportion of its present inhabitants are Jews ; and the separate quarter in which these proscribed sectaries live is the only flourishing district of the city. The grass grows in the streets ; the mansions of the old nobility crumble into dust before our eyes ; and whole streets have their houses shut up, or left without doors or windows, to perish by the weather. Through a scene like this we approach the middle of the town, and come upon a deep moat with bridges, surrounding a huge, gloomy, square fortress.

The interior of the pile is a hollow court, as melancholy as the outside. This was the castle of the Este ; and in its dungeons died Parisina and her lover. The house of Ariosto, whom the Ferrarese princes coldly patronised, shares our curiosity with the low-roofed cell of Sant' Anna, where they imprisoned Tasso. A public square, planted in the middle, had once a statue of its founder, Pope Alexander VII. ; but in 1796 the pontiff was deposed, the First Consul soon afterwards took his place, and the square was named the Piazza di Napoleone. In 1814, the ex-emperor's statue was thrown down, and, by way of compromise, the square was christened the Piazza of Ariosto, whose statue in 1833 was placed on the accommodating pedestal.

THE SARDINIAN STATES IN ITALY.

The Italian territories belonging to the King of Sardinia (Savoy being here excluded) consist of four sections, each of which has a separate place and name in history. These are, first, the Principality of Piedmont, as consolidated about the beginning of the eighteenth century ; secondly, various districts acquired by treaty or conquest between that time and the middle of that age, chiefly from the duchy of Milan ; thirdly, the island of Sardinia, added during the same period ; fourthly, the territory of the republic of Genoa, gained in 1814.

I. Piedmont may be classed into nine petty states, mastered separately and successively by the Dukes of Savoy. They are the following. 1. The principality of Piedmont Proper, in which lie the metropolis Turin, and several other extensive towns. 2. The duchy of Aosta. 3. The lordship of Vercelli. 4. The marquisate of Ivrea. 5. The marquisate of Susa. 6. The marquisate of Saluzzo. 7. The county of Asti. 8. The county of Nice, within which lies the independent principality of Monaco. With it may be classed the Sardinian district of Oneglia, formerly isolated between Nice and the Genoese territory. 9. The duchy of Montferrat, a hilly region, which has neither extent nor population corresponding

to its historical fame, and no towns larger than its old ducal city Casale.* II. The country acquired from the Milanese pushed forward the frontier of Piedmont, as now fixed, from the banks of the river Sesia (on which is Vercelli) to the Lago Maggiore, the Ticino, and the hills of Parma, eastward from Bobbio. The most important acquisitions were, the district containing the town of Novara, that in which is Vigevano, that of Alessandria, that of Tortona, and a large part of the Pavian territory where Voghera is situated.† III. Sardinia has for its chief town Cagliari; the second is Sassari; the third is Iglesias.‡ IV. The Genoese Duchy is usually divided into the Riviera di Levante, and Riviera di Ponente, or eastern and western shores of the Bay. On the former stands Genoa; but the latter is far the more valuable, on account of its soil, climate, and harbours.§

THE PRINCIPAL CITIES.

Turin has increased a little in population since the peace. Its antiquities are insignificant, excepting its lately acquired Egyptian museum; its royal gallery of paintings is good in the Transalpine schools, and remark-

* *Principal Towns in each of the Nine Provinces of Piedmont* :—(1.) Turin, 120,000 souls; Savigliano, 18,000; Cuneo or Coni, 16,000; Mondovi, 22,000; Carignano, Chieri, Chivasso, and others, each under 10,000. (2.) Aosta, 5000. (3.) Vercelli, 16,000; Biella, 8000. (4.) Ivrea, 7000. (5.) Susa, 2000. (6.) Saluzzo, 10,000. (7.) Asti, 21,000. (8.) In Nice, Nice or Nizza Maritima, 20,000; Villafranca, 7000; In Oneglia, Oneglia, 4000; San Remo, 5000; Ventimiglia, 5000; In Monaco, Monaco, 1000; Mentone, 3000. (9.) Casale, 16,000; Acqui, 6000; Alba, 7000.

† *Principal Towns in the Milanese Districts* :—Novara, 13,000; Vigevano, 15,000; Alessandria, 30,000; Tortona, 8000; Voghera, 10,000; Bobbio, 3000.

‡ *Principal Towns in Sardinia* :—Cagliari, 26,000; Sassari, 20,000; Iglesias, 9500; six other towns ranging between 5000 and 7000; about a hundred and fifty more between 1000 and 5000.

§ *Principal Towns in the Duchy of Genoa* :—(1.) *On the Eastern Riviera*, Genoa, 80,000; Chiavari, 8000; La Spezia, 4000. (2.) *On the Western Riviera*, Novi, 8000; Voltri, 3000; Savona, 10,000; Albenga, 4000; Finale, 7000.

able for its poverty in Italian specimens ; its public buildings though gaudy are very impure in taste ; and the little metropolis seldom tempts foreigners to a lengthened stay. However, it is one of the most neatly arranged towns in Europe, as well as one of the cleanest and most pleasingly situated. It lies in the well-cultivated plain of Piedmont, sheltered on the north and west by the fine snowy range of the Alps, among which the valleys of Susa and Aosta come near enough to break, agreeably for the eye, the mass of the mountain-wall. The noble rivers are seen like bands of silver winding through the flats ; the Po, where it is joined by the Doria Riparia, bathes one side of the city ; and its farther bank is formed by a group of hills covered with gardens, villas, and vineyards, and crowned, five miles down the vale, by the high mount and church of the Superga.

The fortifications of the town, except its pentagonal citadel, are converted into shrubberies and public walks ; and the new portion of the buildings, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are disposed with an excessive regularity, the main streets diverging from the old palace of the counts of Savoy as a common centre. That mansion, possessing one good front and the rest bad, fills the middle of the great square, called the Piazza del Castello, which presents on one side the modern residence of the king, and, close to it, the cathedral. This square, and the chief streets, are lined by lofty houses, in which the ground story is faced by a continued arcade. The handsomest of the streets, commencing from one of the back-fronts of the old palace, is a hundred feet in width, and runs to the edge of the Po, where it terminates in the square of San Carlo, similarly arcaded ; beyond this point is a fine bridge built by the French, and at its extremity a votive church with a dome, opened in 1834, and purer than the older buildings. Turin has not the character of being a gay town ; but its opera-house ranks next after those of Naples and Milan.

Genoa, within walls extending twelve miles, contains

many gardens and villas ; and on account of its buildings, as well as its magnificent situation, justly deserves its title of The Proud.

In approaching from Turin, we pass along the seaside to the immense lighthouse ; and at the point on which that tower stands, we enter the suburb of San Pietro d' Arena. The two huge moles run out before us into the sea, and the splendid scene comes gradually into view. We behold a bay embraced by steep hills, along the sides of which rise the houses : the coast is rocky ; and, except in the harbour, a lofty fortified wall parts the town from the shore. The mansions of Genoa have an aspect peculiarly their own, arising from the combined effect of their position, their grouping, their terraces on the hill-side, their balconies with orange trees and other shrubs, and the painted plaster fronts, which imitate architecture in a fashion found at Venice, as well as at other places, but nowhere universal except here. Just outside of the gate by which we have entered, we see a large mansion skirting the right side of the road, between us and the sea ; on the other hand a high wall supports a hanging garden, the vines of which, beautifully trellised, hang over the path, and ascend in rows among summer-houses and walls, along the face of a steep hill ; and in the middle of this artificial wilderness, a large decorated niche contains a colossal statue of an armed man. The decaying palace was the chief residence of the Doria family, and the figure is that of the celebrated Andrea. Immediately within the gate, a palazzo of moderate size, and crusted with fine white marble, recently built by two brothers, Genoese merchants, augurs more favourably for the prosperity of the city than its general aspect does. We thence enter a wide and long street, lined by lofty aristocratic piles, in some instances architecturally adorned, but oftener faced with the usual painted plaster, now mouldering and discoloured. This street is in three divisions, of which that named the Strada Balbi is particularly sumptuous. The palazzo of the King, formerly belonging to the Durazzo, another palace still possessed

by that family, and those of the Brignole and Serra, are usually pointed out as well for their richness as their good collections of pictures ; and the Palazzo of the University, with its courts, terraces, gardens, staircases, and long vistas, is like a scene in a fairy-tale.

There are handsome dwellings in other quarters of the town, and also a multitude of churches, the gaudiest in Italy, both outside and inside, but most of them scarcely more tasteful than those of Turin, which must rank as the very worst. We have to reach these by approaches very unlike the Strada Balbi ; for, wherever we diverge from the great line, we plunge into cross alleys, execrable for narrowness, bad paving, gloominess, and filth. The ancient ducal palace, destroyed by fire, has its place supplied by an elaborately elegant building of 1777 ; the celebrated Hospital is equally remarkable for its gorgeous architecture and its vast extent ; and in the Harbour, forming a free port and town by itself, we may find many objects of historical interest. Among these are the hall of the Bank of Saint George, above the customhouse,—the ancient arsenal, now the prison of the galley-slaves,—and the spot in its vicinity where Fieschi was drowned.

The two chief towns of Sardinia may deserve a passing glance. Cagliari, the residence of the government, is placed between the shore and a range of mountains, on an eminence descending to the water's edge, and skirted by a plain in which are salt lakes of great extent. The town is described as having an imposing aspect when viewed from the sea, but as consisting of streets which are narrow, steep, and exceedingly nasty. It has, however, many good houses, a university and schools, and about thirty churches, among which the cathedral, built by the Pisans, is the richest. The three square towers of its fortifications are also relics of the middle ages. Sassari, its rival, is placed in a fertile and well-cultivated district, abounding in gardens on the outskirts, while the town is surrounded by walls, shaded by avenues of trees. The

front of its minster, with its two stories of pilasters, its statued niches, and its huge rounded pediments, brings to one's recollection some of the oddest ecclesiastical buildings in Venice. The town has twenty-four churches, ten monasteries, and three nunneries.

THE LOMBARDO-VENETIAN KINGDOM.

The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom is made up of three parts: namely, the old Austrian Lombardy; the Valtelline and adjoining lands taken from the Grisons; and the Italian territory of the extinct republic of Venice.

Austrian Lombardy was composed of the duchy of Milan (at least the greater part of it) and the duchy of Mantua. The former of these, as possessed by its present masters, embraces six districts. 1. The Milanese Proper, surrounding the city. 2. A part of the countship of Anghiera bordering on the Lake Maggiore. 3. The picturesque territory of Como. 4. A small portion of the district of Pavia, including the city. 5. The territory of Lodi. 6. The Cremonese district, in which is the valuable fortress of Pizzighettone.—The Duchy of Mantua contains no considerable town except its capital.*

The Valtelline is a mountainous region, in which the leading town is Sondrio.†

The Austrian spoils of Venice embrace nine Italian provinces. 1. The Dogado or Duchy of Venice, surrounding the city itself. It includes the fence of islands, among which the largest towns are Chioggia, Palestrina, Burano, and Murano; and a narrow belt of coast along the mainland, containing no town larger than Mestre. 2. The territory of Padua. 3. The unhealthy Polesina.

* *Principal Towns in the old Austrian Lombardy.* I. *In the six provinces of the Duchy of Milan:*—(1.) Milan, 130,000 souls; Monza, 11,000; (2.) Anghiera, 1400; (3.) Como, 16,000; (4.) Pavia, 24,000; (5.) Lodi, 15,000; Crema, 9000; Codogno, 8000; San Colombano, 5000; (6.) Cremona, 26,000; Pizzighettone, 4000; Casalmaggiore, 5000. II. *In the Duchy of Mantua:*—Mantua, 25,000; Sabbionetta, 6000; Roverbella, 3000.

† *Principal Towns in the Valtelline:*—Sondrio, 4000; Bormio, 5000; Chiavenna, 3000.

4. The Veronese March.
5. The Vicentine territory.
6. The Brescian territory.
7. The territory of Bergamo.
8. The province of Treviso, which includes the Trevisan March Proper, and the districts of Feltre, Belluno, and Cadore.
9. The ancient ducal province of Friuli.*

PRINCIPAL CITIES IN AUSTRIAN LOMBARDY.

Milan, which was the centre of republican and ducal Lombardy, is now the largest city of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the seat of one of its two governments, and the ordinary vice-regal residence. The Milan of the Romans and Ostrogoths was destroyed in 538 by the subjects and Burgundian allies of Vitiges ; the Milan of the dark ages was nearly demolished by Frederic Barbarossa in 1162 ; and in 1168 was founded the Milan of the fierce republican times. Each of the two former has left some ruins ; and the place, as it now exists, presents very much of the middle ages, a little from the seventeenth century, and a good deal that is later, including several public buildings erected under Napoleon. The city was enclosed early in the fourteenth century by Azzo Visconti ; but it spread in suburbs beyond the ramparts, and the present walls, with their eleven gates, shutting in the whole population, were built about 1557 by Ferrante Gonzaga, then governor for Spain.

Milan is thickly inhabited. Its most striking edifice is its renowned cathedral ; other churches are curious, but few of its palaces are so ; its works of high art, though not numerous, are very valuable ; its Ambrosian Library

* *Principal Towns in the Venetian Provinces of Austria :—*(1.) Venice, 100,000 ; Chioggia, 24,000 ; Palestrina, 7000 ; Burano, 5000 ; Murano, 4000 ; Mestre, 4500. (2.) Padua, 47,000 ; Este, 9000. (3.) Rovigo, 9000 ; Adria, 10,000. (4.) Verona, 60,000 ; Legnago, 10,000 ; several towns between 3000 and 6000. (5.) Vicenza, 30,000 ; Schio and several other towns, 6000. (6.) Brescia, 34,000 ; Chiari, 8000 ; Lonato, Salò, Desenzano, &c., from 3000 to 6000. (7.) Bergamo, 30,000 ; Caravaggio, 4500. (8.) Treviso, 16,000 ; Bassano, 10,000 ; Feltre, 4000 ; Belluno, 11,000 ; Pieve-di-Cadore, 2000. (9.) Udine, 20,000 ; Pordenone, 4000.

is second only to that of the Vatican. The church of Saint Ambrose is not that from which the saint repulsed Theodoric ; but it belongs partly to the latter half of the ninth century. It contains a brazen serpent which, as the people will have it, is to announce by its hissing the end of the world, and is either the serpent lifted up in the wilderness, or was made from the same brass, or at the very least is an exact copy. A more real interest attaches to another relic of that church ; the hideous portrait-bust of the holy patron, before which, in 1476, Gian Andrea Lampognano, in the morning when he and Olgiati were to assassinate Gian Galeazzo Sforza, knelt down and prayed that Heaven and the saints would bless the enterprise. The palace of the old dukes of Milan has given way to a mansion erected for Eugene Beauharnois. The site of the ancient citadel is covered by a large esplanade, planted with alleys of trees, containing a barrack, a military parade, and a mock amphitheatre, and terminating in a splendid triumphal arch opening on the road to the Simplon. The esplanade was called by those who projected it the Foro-Buonaparte, and the monument the Arch of the Simplon ; but now, of course, both names are changed. The former is the Piazza del Castello ; and the arch, recently completed, has become, after the necessary alterations, the Arco della Pace. The Corso, the public gardens, and the ramparts with their avenues of chestnut-trees, are pleasant promenades. The immense Theatre Della Scala is celebrated over all Europe for its size, its decorations, and its music. No one building unites within its walls so many objects of curiosity as the Palazzo di Brera, at first a convent of the Umiliati, afterwards a seminary for the Jesuits, and then a college. It now contains the best observatory in Italy ; the academy of the fine arts, with its famous gallery of pictures, its collection of casts, and its numismatic museum ; the public library ; and the botanic garden. The charitable institutions are numerous ; and the Great Hospital, founded in the fifteenth century by Francesco Sforza, is calcul-

lated to admit 2000 patients. The singular enclosure of the Lazaretto is just beyond the eastern gate, and was founded by Lodovico Sforza the Moor.

The country around Milan is rich in fine scenery and historical spots. The western lakes of Lombardy lie between it and the Alps ; and ten miles northward from the town is Monza, in whose church is kept Queen Theodolind's Iron Crown,—the crown which Napoleon's hand placed on his own head, and which is now worn by the Emperor of Austria.

Pavia, the decaying city of the Hundred Towers, preserves only two such structures, neither of which was the prison of Boëthius ; but it has perpetuated in the hearts of its modern inhabitants the jealousies so long felt towards its ancient rival Milan. It owes its whole importance at the present day to its university, now the best in Italy. Though its ancient recollections are very proud, the memorials of the time when it was the metropolis of the Lombards are few and uncertain. Still several churches are extremely curious ; and San Michele, with one or two others, may have something of the old Lombard art. The two most imposing relics, both placed in the cathedral, are unluckily apocryphal ; the tomb of Saint Augustine and the lance of the paladin Orlando. A beautiful walk of four miles from the city, on the road to Milan, leads us to the remains of the magnificent Certosa of Pavia or Chiaravalle, so celebrated in the history of sculpture.

Bergamo, the birthplace of the Italian Harlequin and of Bernardo Tasso, is most picturesquely situated upon and around a precipitous rock. Its autumnal fair dates from the tenth century ; and it is, for a Lombard town, actively commercial.

Brescia has excellent pictures in its churches, neat streets, many classical antiquities, and its famous iron-works in the beautiful vicinity. Outside the walls is a public cemetery, laid out with a mixture of good and bad taste in 1815. One section of the ground was set apart

to be shared indiscriminately between protestants and executed criminals ; but it is only fair to add, that this paltry act of bigotry excited disgust among the Brescians themselves.

Cremona and Mantua have been classed together ever since the days of Virgil. The former, a large city not half peopled, should scarcely detain us either in its violin-manufactories, or on the stupendously lofty tower of its ancient cathedral. In the latter, Virgil is followed by Mantegna, by Giulio Romano, and by the military engineers, who have been occupied in strengthening its fortifications from the sixteenth century till now. It is a regularly built but dreary and unhealthy town, on a lake of the Mincio, surrounded by low plains and reedy fens. But its long fortified bridges, and the bastions which surround it, are impressive. The 2000 Jews, who form part of its population, have a showy quarter with elegant shops ; several merchants of that nation have excellent picture-galleries, and their schools and houses of industry (instituted in 1825) are models in their sort. The ancient ducal palace within the walls has but wretched ruins of Mantegna's works and those of Giulio ; and the latter has scarcely left more in his suburban palace of the Te. The Academy of the Fine Arts possesses a curious but little known collection of antique statues. Bernardo Tasso is buried in the church of Sant' Egidio, Giulio in San Barnaba, and Mantegna in Sant' Andrea, which is one of the best works of Alberti.

PRINCIPAL CITIES IN VENETIAN LOMBARDY.

Venice, in its highest bloom after 1420, contained 90,000 souls. In 1559, the population was 163,831, including 2219 nobles, with 2000 Jews and Levantines ; the highest limit it ever reached was 190,000 ; and in 1769, it had sunk to 149,476, comprising 5000 Israelites. In 1811, the city possessed only 112,000 inhabitants ; and its population was very lately estimated by the municipal authorities at 100,000, and by the clergy at 120,000 ;

the former being probably nearest to the truth. The decline of the nobility is made manifest by the ruinous mansions which meet the eye in every quarter ; but the decay, though now far more rapid than ever, is no recent calamity. During the last two or three centuries, there have existed numerous charitable establishments for the exclusive benefit of the patricians ; there have been regulations which gave them privileges over ordinary beggars ; and the people, in their common talk, divided the aristocracy into two ranks : the rich were *Signori* ; the poor were *Barnaboti*, or haunters of the little square of San Barnaba, where the populace lounged and fought their battles. The number of paupers of all ranks now in Venice is enormous, indeed almost incredible.

The Lagunes in which the city stands, are a chain of salt-water shallows, which have been described, whimsically but aptly, as a side-closet of the Adriatic, shut off by a partition. They extend southward from the mouth of the Piave to that of the Adige, a length of fully a degree, and the breadth is from twenty to thirty miles. The wall between them and the sea is begun at its northern end by a line of low narrow islands, ending in the one called the Lido, partly artificial ; on the south of which the rampart is carried forward as far as Chioggia by the Murazzi, a range of huge stone bulwarks, built in the first half of last century, in place of the piles which had been formerly driven in, and repeatedly destroyed by tempests. Venice stands near the northern end of the Lagunes, about five miles from the terra-firma, and not more than two from the nearest point of the Lido. The openings in the sea-walls admit vessels into intricate channels, between which are shoals lying about two feet under water, and daily converted by the slight fall of the tide into wide banks of mud.

Besides the suburban islets, those on which the city is built consist of two large clusters, forming a circuit of seven miles. The two groups, again, are divided by the Grand Canal, a wide channel in the form of a much twisted S, which, midway between its two extremities,

is spanned by the Bridge of the Rialto, and has no other. The smaller canals, which intersect the town in every quarter, are crossed by numerous little bridges, which, being raised high to let the gondolas pass under, have a flight of steps on each end. There are few spots that are not most conveniently accessible by water; but little lanes intersect each other continually, and there is no point which we cannot reach by land. The most fashionable houses, however, have no wharf or pavement in front, and the gondola is rowed up to the door. The city has thirty parishes, and is divided into six municipal wards, three on each side of the Great Canal.

It is difficult to describe Venice, and quite impossible to delineate it in such a manner as to present undistorted the features which distinguish it. Painting itself gives but an inadequate representation of its strange panorama; and the historical and poetical charm of the place does not work effectually till we tread its quays or lanes, and glide along its waters. The most striking approach is made from Fusina, on the mainland. Upon nearing the city, on the south side, we enter the canal which separates it from the islet of the Giudecca; and ornamented buildings on both sides accompany us till, passing a second islet, that of San Giorgio Maggiore, we are in the harbour, and have in full view some of the most picturesque scenes of the city. At the eastern point of the harbour is the Public Garden, laid out by the French, which hides the famous Arsenal, and its adjoining Citadel. At the western point, the fantastic Custom-house marks the opening of the Great Canal; and we may thence sail along this fine channel, where splendid edifices in every style of architecture, from the Byzantine to the Italian Gothic, and thence to the Palladian age and the decline which followed, shift their position in the view at every moment, and, rising directly out of the sea, form a succession of beautiful pictures. On the left, before reaching the Rialto, we pass the gorgeous church of the Salute, the Gothic mansion of the Foscari in ruins, and palaces of the Giustiniani, Tiepolo, Grimani, and other historical names.

On the right is the Palazzo Mocenigo, which was Lord Byron's residence, after which come the Saracenic dwelling of the Loredan, and Sansovino's palace, once inhabited by the last doge. Upon reaching the Bridge of the Rialto, we see on the right the Fondaco or Warehouse of the German merchants (now one of the custom-houses), on whose walls moulder paintings of Titian and Giorgione. On the left stand the Fabbriche Vecchie, edifices in no very high style, erected in 1513, which once formed the Exchange ; and their little "campo" or square was the spot where Shakspeare's Venetian merchant spat upon Shylock's Jewish gaberdine. The remaining half of the Canal presents pictures similar to those of the former portion ; and if, from time to time, we shoot off into the smaller canals which open on both sides, we reach several of the most interesting objects in Venice, such as the Church and Piazza of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the Madonna dell' Orto, the Church of the Frari, and the School of San Rocco.

But the spot which is at once most picturesque in itself, and most fruitful in recollections, is a space of about a thousand feet each way, on the edge of the harbour, very near the entrance of the Great Canal. As we approach it from the Giudecca, we see its front formed, in its western half, by the old ducal balustraded garden, and, in the other half, by the broad quay called the Molo. In the middle of this quay rise two columns, the one crowned with the statue of Saint Theodore, the other with the Winged Lion ; and between the two, criminals were wont to be executed. Beyond them retire from the view, on the left, the Mint and Library, and on the right, the huge Palace of the Doge ; the two ranges enclosing the space called the Piazzetta of S. Mark. The palace stands with its end to the quay ; along its back runs a narrow canal, separating it from the Prisons ; and, at a great height, this narrow channel is beset by an odd-looking closed gallery, which is the famous Bridge of Sighs. Passing along the front of the palace, we reach the massive façade of the Cathedral Church, which forms

one end of the Square of S. Mark. The three other sides of the square next present their ranges of buildings by Sansovino and other Venetians. The architecture of the place, its shops and coffee-houses, its crowds of people in all the costumes of the world, its three masts for the standards of three kingdoms, and the hollow court of the palace, into which we look till our view is closed by the Giant's Steps ;—all these, with the harbour and its gondolas in the distance, raise in the fancy an image, not altogether dim, of the ancient and gloomy splendour of the patrician city. We may strengthen the impression, if we please, by visiting, in the doge's palace, the halls of the senate, the council, and the inquisitors of state, with the abandoned subterranean dungeons.

The Island-Queen of the Adriatic is about to be disenchanted, by an operation which, if any thing can, may restore her to some share of her ancient prosperity. A joint-stock company has been chartered for constructing a railroad between the city and Milan ; and one branch of the way is to be carried on a bridge across the Lagunes from Mestre to the Grand Canal, where, according to the latest plan we have heard of, it will end near the Palazzo Manfrin.

Padua, successively destroyed by Attila, by Totila, and by Agilulf the Lombard, became for the fourth time a flourishing town under Charlemagne. Its republican history in the middle ages ended in the usual subjection to princes (the Carrara), who successfully cherished its famous schools ; and, after the city and territory had become a province of the Venetian state, its seminaries were formed into a regular university. This institution was in its highest fame during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and had Galileo as a professor till the beginning of the next ; but now, though respectable, it is inferior to that of Pavia. Notwithstanding, we visit with curiosity the source of light to which all Europe flocked, and where natural science was so well understood, that the scholars of Padua were believed magicians. The square of the

University, a decorated court of the sixteenth century, is curiously adorned with escutcheons of its most celebrated teachers and benefactors. The town-hall is renowned for its huge size, a pretended coffin of Livy, some other antiquities, and the Stone of Offence, on which if a debtor sat, under certain prescribed conditions, he was declared free for ever. The churches of Sant' Antonio and Santa Justina, are imitations of S. Mark at Venice ; and they form on one side the screen of the Prà della Valle, an open grassy area with a canal, adorned by statues of eminent Italians.

The streets of Padua are broad, with arcades like those of Bologna. The situation of the town is low ; but much of its neighbourhood is beautiful, both towards the hills of Vicenza, and on the way to Rovigo. The latter road leads for eight miles along the canal of Battaglia, amidst Palladian villas and rich cultivation ; and, soon after passing the romantic chateau of Cataio; we turn off to the baths of Abano, and thence to the Euganean hills, at the feet of which those spots lie. These eminences are rounded or conical, but all soft in form, richly covered with culture, brush-wood, villages, and convent-towers. In a hollow among their roots we pass a little lake, and thence ascend to a village winding prettily round a height. At its entrance, on the green, stands at our left the church, in front of which is a stone coffin raised on four pillars, and still nearer us a plain fountain arched with bricks and overgrown with turf. At the farther end of the hamlet, on the brow of a steep knoll, overlooking the neighbouring gardens and the whole wide plain, is a small house which the children of the place eagerly invite us to visit. The village is Arquà ; and the house, the fountain, and the tomb, are Petrarch's.

Vicenza, a beautifully situated, but now ruinous city, derives its whole claim to notice from its fine buildings of the sixteenth century. It is the scene on which the Vicentine Palladio and his Lombard imitators exerted all their skill : but it can scarcely be said to possess

either traditions or memorials, whether ancient or of the middle ages.

Verona is the third city of the kingdom, and one of its most important fortresses. Its situation is extremely fine, on the side and at the foot of an acclivity, with the noble river Adige entering its walls and flowing through it. There is no age which has not bequeathed to it both incidents and monuments. The ancient world is represented in its amphitheatre, its bridges, its arches, and its museum formed by Maffei. In the history of fortification, it presents to us successively Gallienus, Theodoric, the Scala, and San Micheli. The defences, much injured during the French wars, have since 1830, like those of Mantua and the other fortresses in the same quarter, been greatly strengthened. The Scala have left their beautiful group of Gothic tombs, in a narrow street before a little church ; and the mansions and ecclesiastical buildings present specimens of art from the dark ages till modern times. Poetry, too, has its own memorials in Verona. The tomb of Pepin, in a vault beside San Zenone, is quite as genuine as the carved portraits of Orlando and Oliviero, in armour, on the door of the cathedral ; and a sarcophagus of red marble, which lies in the outhouse of a garden attached to an abandoned convent, has no stronger claims to be called the tomb of Juliet.

THE DUCHIES OF PARMA AND MODENA.

The ducal states of Parma and Modena are composed of smaller princedoms.

The territories of Parma contain three duchies, bearing the names of the three chief towns, Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla.* The state of Modena is composed of no fewer than eight parts : The duchy of Modena ; that of Reggio ; that of Mirandola ; the principality of Correggio ; the principality of Carpi ; that of Novellara ; a

* Principal Towns :—Parma, 36,000 souls ; Piacenza, 28,000 ; Guastalla, 6000 ; Borgo San Donnino, 5000 ; Fiorenzuola, 3000.

portion of the lordship of Garfagnana ; and the duchy of Massa-Carrara.*

Parma is the city of Correggio, and, but for his paintings, few would go out of their way to visit it. Its library, however, might invite some bibliomaniacs ; and the printing-house of Bodoni, the Aldus of Napoleon's reign, might attract a few others. None would be led thither by the scenery, which, though agreeable, is nothing more ; nor by the architecture, in which the commonplace character is relieved only by one or two such edifices as the Italo-Gothic Cathedral, and the fine church of the Steccata belonging to the fifteenth century. The Farnese palace is a huge mass of brick heaped together, which, left unfinished, is now in decay. The whole town is silent and dull.

Piacenza spreads out for its inhabitants a circuit which would hold several times their modern number ; and it is a very well-built city, though its buildings are chiefly of plastered brick. The most interesting monument is the Palazzo Pubblico, erected in the end of the thirteenth century, picturesque and vast, adorned with curious Gothic details. Another old relic is an iron cage, one of the horrible places of punishment, which is preserved in the tower of the cathedral.

Modena, a handsome town, transferred the best pictures of its celebrated gallery to Dresden a century ago ; but it still possesses its sumptuous palace in the middle of the great square, and the ducal library, the haunt of Muratori and Tiraboschi. The gallery, the palace, and the library, may be said to form the sole attractions of the place ; if we except the belfry of the cathedral, where hangs the wooden bucket which furnishes the subject of Tassoni's poem.

Reggio, the birthplace of Ariosto, is prettily placed, well built, and, besides Spallanzani's museum, con-

* *Principal Towns :—Modena, 27,000 ; Reggio, 18,000 ; Mirandola, 6000 ; Massa, 7000 ; Carrara, 4500.*

tains the church of La Madonna della Ghiara, built mainly from Michel Angelo's model for Saint Peters.

THE GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY, WITH LUCCA.

It is useful to consider Tuscany as divided into three districts, each being the territory which belonged to one of the three extinct republics, Florence, Pisa, and Siena ; although such a division, to be at all accurate, should be much more minute, and assign independent territories to several of the smaller towns. To these three provinces we have to add the Tuscan island of Elba.*

In the Duchy of Lucca, besides its chief city, none of the towns are larger than its port Viareggio.†

THE CITY OF FLORENCE.

Florence is, by the Italians, called The Beautiful ; and there is not one of its eight gates that does not look upon scenes which at once justify the appellation, and abound in historical interest.

From the Porta Romana, opening on the road to Siena, we first turn aside to a venerable avenue of oaks, pines, and cypresses, which leads us up to the ducal villa of Poggio Imperiale. This was a seat of the Salviati, seized by Cosmo the first duke ; and its lawn is the scene of Redi's Bacchic song. We next see the gloomy fortress-convent of the Cistercians, built on a height in 1351 by Orcagna. The lovely eminence of Arcetri presents the villa which was the prison of Galileo for the last nine years of his life ; and in a country-house on the hill of Bellosguardo Guicciardini wrote his history. Seven miles from the gate, we recognise Machiavelli's retreat at the village of San Casciano.—The gates of

* *Principal Towns* :—I. Florence, 96,000 souls ; Arezzo, 12,000 ; Cortona, 3500 ; Prato, 11,000 ; Pescia, 4000 ; Pistoia, 12,000. II. Pisa, 21,000 ; Leghorn, 76,000 ; Volterra, 6000. III. Siena, 18,000 ; Grosseto, 3000. IV. Porto Ferrajo in Elba, 2000.

† *Principal Towns* :—Lucca, 22,000 ; Viareggio, 5000.

San Miniato and San Niccolà lead us to the height of San Miniato, crowned by its ancient church, Michel Angelo's "bella villanella."—Near the gate of San Frediano, the last of the four on the left bank of the river, we come to the villa Spinelli, another of Galileo's dwellings. We may next survey the whole beautiful vale from the ancient Olivetan convent, on a wooded hill overhanging the stream; and two miles down the valley is the Abbey of Settimo, in whose court, in 1064, the Vallombrosan monk, Pietro, walked unhurt through the fire. At a short distance thence, we find the fort Malmantile, celebrated in Lippi's burlesque epic, and another fastness, La Lastra, built under the direction of the condottiere Hawkwood.

The four gates on the opposite side of the Arno lead to spots not less interesting.—The gate of Santa Croce, from which proceeds the road to Rome by Arezzo, leads us into the upper Val d'Arno, whose beautiful olive-hills rise after a few miles into the mountain of the Vallombrosa.—The gate Dei Pinti opens towards Fiesole; where the rich, cultivated, picturesque valley, and the terraced hills covered with vineyards, groves, villas, and gardens, are equally worthy of being the approach to the height from whence we view the lovely scene marked by the course of the river. The objects which attract us in that short walk are numberless. In the hollow is the torrent Mugnone, which Boccaccio made poetical by his *Ninfale Fiesolano*, and by his *Decameron*, whose scene is said to have been laid in the villa Palmieri, now modernized.—The gate of San Gallo, from which issues the road to Bologna, is extremely fertile in monuments both of the republic and of the Medici. A chapel with a miraculous wooden image first arrests us, not far from a beautiful burying-ground. We soon arrive at the village of La Lastra, the rendezvous of Dante and his fellow-exiles when, in 1304, they attempted to storm Florence. Pratolino less deserves notice for its gigantic statue of the Apennine, than for its forests and parks, where stood, till sixty years ago, the palace which was the favourite

retreat of Duke Ferdinand and Bianca Capello.* At Careggi, a villa built by Michelozzi for Cosmo Pater Patriæ, in a beautiful spot a few miles from the gate, Lorenzo's learned men celebrated the revival of the Platonic philosophy, and both he and Cosmo expired within the walls of the mansion.—The Porta al Prato, looking towards Pistoia, owes its name to the meadow where the Florentine youth practised athletic games, which is now a street with a fine range of trees, within the walls. Immediately beyond the gate are the wooded avenues, lawns, and pastures, of the duke's dairy-farm called the Cascine ; a rural spot, which, stretching to the edge of the river, is the favourite walk for the Florentines of all ranks. A branch of the great road, turning to the left, ends at the Medicean villa of Poggio a Caiano. The lovely site of this mansion, celebrated by Lorenzo the Magnificent in his poem of L'Ambra, and its paintings executed by the artists of Leo X., have a less tragical interest than the fate of Bianca and Duke Ferdinand, who were poisoned in its apartments.

The city itself merits not in any respect the name of Beautiful. Its aspect is determined by the castellated palaces of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, as also by the peculiar architecture of its religious structures belonging to the same period. The dome of the cathedral soars above the roofs ; and the features of that massive pile itself, as well as similar churches and cloisters elsewhere, exemplify the ruling ecclesiastical style. In the civil architecture, the huge Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia of Orcagna give character to the great square ; and such buildings, indeed, are the prominent objects in every other quarter. Florence has been called, epigrammatically but not unjustly, the metropolis of the middle ages. Its castles show us how the barons lived

* Its scenery, and its marvellous machinery, are curiously described by Professor Rosini in his *Nun of Monza*. An older description is in Bishop Burnet's Letters, and one yet older in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

and fought ; its narrow streets, lined with lofty houses, and paved with huge polygonal flags, remind us how the cities of those gloomy times were built, how they were attacked by mailed horsemen scouring the streets at full gallop, and how the citizens could defend themselves by hasty barricades. The booths which encumber the Ponte Vecchio, like Old London Bridge, are an image of the markets and artificers' shops of the ancient times. The churches and other religious edifices exhibit to us art in those centuries, from its infancy to its maturity. Lastly, the ecclesiastical structures teach us another lesson,—the weakness of modern Tuscany compared with the vastness of design which belonged to her republican ages. For there are not six old churches in Florence which have their exteriors finished : the front of the cathedral is painted over plaster : Santa Croce exhibits, like many others, a heavy gable of dirty bricks, perforated with holes to receive a coating of marble which has never been given. To these memorials of the middle ages, the city, it is true, adds many of the sixteenth century ; but the most distinguished schools of that time, both in painting and sculpture, left their works in Rome, and architecture was not really great except in Upper Italy.

Florence embraces within the walls a circuit of about six miles, and the line is that of the ancient ramparts. The population is now a little larger than it was in the brightest days of the republic. In 1338 it amounted to 90,000 ; including 1500 soldiers and other foreigners, but not reckoning the regular clergy. In 1527 it had fallen to 50,000 laity, and 20,000 ecclesiastics. In 1815 the total return was 79,772 ; and in 1834 it was 96,240. The register of foreigners here is no inaccurate index of their number in Rome as well as other frequented cities of Italy ; and in four recent years these lists gave the following results. In 1832, there entered Florence, 11,340 ; quitted, 10,142 : in 1833, entered, 10,852 ; quitted, 13,409 : in 1834, entered, 12,299 ; quitted, 12,823 : in 1835, entered, 9358 ; quitted, 10,146.

The city is a cheerful place, with a good deal of society, several second-rate theatres, and a moderate sufficiency of other amusements. Its greatest attraction, however, lies in its masterpieces of art, and its historical recollections. The treasures of its galleries have been already indicated as minutely as the limits of these pages allow ; but the spots which are immortalized by associated images, are too numerous to admit even of selection. The quarter on the left bank of the Arno has fewest of such scenes ; though it contains, amidst very mean streets, the Pitti Palace and its hanging gardens of Boboli ; the western citadel of the town, on the hill of San Miniato, overlooking the ducal gardens ; the celebrated Physical Museum ; and the churches of the Carmine and the Santo Spirito.

The rest of the city, irregularly built, and containing only eight or nine squares, of which no more than three or four are spacious, none handsome, and several historically famous, is divided into three Wards.—That of Santa Croce, the farthest up the river, contains the two most celebrated spots in Florence :—the Dominican convent-church of Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Italy ;—and the Piazza del Granduca, with its statues and its surrounding edifices, including the Palazzo Vecchio of Arnolfo, crowned by its hideous tower, the Loggia of Orcagna, and Vasari's portico Degli Ufizj. These principal spots, however, should not make us forget others ; such as the ancient debtors' prison of the Stinche, built in 1304, which was praised by the philanthropist Howard, but is now divided between shops, a riding-school, and the hall of the Philharmonic Society ; the gloomy gaol, once the Palace of the Podestà ; the tower of Orsanmichele ; the street or borgo of the Albizzi ; and that of the Ghibellines, which contains the house of the Buonarroti.—The ward of San Giovanni, between the east and west ends of the city, derives its name and its chief interest from the cathedral with its celebrated group of adjoining buildings. It contains the Via Larga, a street of magnificent mansions, among which the Palazzo Ric-

cardi is pre-eminent; the church of San Lorenzo, with its chapels and attached Library; the barracks of the grand duke's body-guard, built in 1579, on the site of Lorenzo de' Medici's famous gardens and their school of art; Savonarola's church and convent of San Marco; the Accademia delle Belle Arti; the Annunziata; several hospitals; and the Pergola, the first of the theatres. This may be considered the aristocratic quarter.—The third ward, that of Santa Maria Novella, which is the one chiefly inhabited by foreigners, stretches to the eastern wall, and has its chief attraction in the renowned church and monastery, from which it is named. It contains the Strozzi Palace; the two principal market-places; the Ghetto of the Jews, built in 1570; several very fine palaces on the bank of the Arno; and the citadel of San Giovanni, which was erected by Alessandro de' Medici. This fortress was the prison where, in 1536, Filippo Strozzi, the Cassius of Florentine history, wrote his last will in the form of a prayer for mercy, cut on the walls a wish for vengeance, which was signally answered in the next generation, and then destroyed himself to disappoint Cosmo and his executioners.

SECONDARY TUSCAN CITIES.

Pisa is another Florence, stopped short after attaining its full growth, but before the complete development of its bloom. Its compass is between four and five miles; though its population has shrank to its ancient numbers. It is pleasingly situated in a fertile plain, screened by the Lucchese mountains on the north, but open towards the south and west till it is terminated by the sea. Its attraction lies in one solitary nook, containing its ecclesiastical buildings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the Campo Santo with its paintings of the fourteenth. The feudal castles, including the tower of Ugolino, have all disappeared; and the church and mansions of Duke Cosmo's Knights of Saint Stephen do not possess equal interest. The famous University has still its buildings, its course of study, and its botanical garden. The mild

climate tempts many foreigners to reside at Pisa in winter ; but the opinions of medical men are divided as to its salubrity, and its baths of San Giuliano, among the beautiful hills three miles north from the city, are now less frequented than those of Lucca.

Leghorn, sixteen miles from Pisa, has no fine architecture or collections of art to attract visitors ; and its commerce, as embracing the whole foreign trade of Tuscany, will engage our attention in another place. Its population in 1814 was 47,282 ; in 1835 it had risen to 76,397 ; of which number 4076 were Jews, 2632 were non-catholics of other religions, and 164 were convicts. The town is neat and active ; but the Jewish quarter is the region which possesses most of both these good qualities. The Israelites have their synagogue, the Mohammedans have their quiet mosque, the Greeks, Armenians, and Protestants, their national churches. The English burying-ground, among its many graves, presents those of Smollett and Horner.

Lucca may be considered as in every view belonging to Tuscany. Its district indeed is the garden of that section of the peninsula. The churches of the city are chiefly built on the old Pisan model, while its streets have an aspect almost Flemish. The surrounding country is beautiful ; and one of its most pleasing spots is the upper valley of the Serchio, in which, twelve miles from the gate, are the celebrated Lucchese Baths.

THE TWO SICILIES.

THE CITY OF NAPLES.

Naples, containing within a circumference of eight miles 358,000 inhabitants, is the most populous city of Italy, and the fifth in Europe. Its greatest length, being about three English miles, is that which is measured along the shore, from the Madonna di Piedigrotta on the west, to the bridge of the Maddalena on the east.

From north to south, the distance is two miles and three quarters. The Strada di Toledo, the main street, runs in a straight line northerly for about five furlongs and a quarter. Another line of streets, crossing the Toledo, and running east and west, but less broad, and neither straight nor regular, is familiarly called by the people Spaccanapoli, and extends in all two miles and a half. The city is divided into 12 administrative wards, and contains 48 parishes, of which four are suburban. In 1781 the population was said to be 384,000, without reckoning soldiers or foreigners, but including 13,544 ecclesiastics of both sexes. In 1791, it was stated to be 430,312 ; but to this number were to be added 10,890 soldiers, and about 10,000 foreigners. Farther, the municipal district includes thirty villages and hamlets, which in 1791 contained altogether 135,049 souls. The smallest of these had then a population of 796, and three of them exceeded 10,000.

There are few classes of strangers for whom Naples has not charms. The southern climate and vegetation, which aid the beautiful outlines in making its scenery so lovely ; the classical interest of its vicinity ; the neighbouring ruins of its buried towns ; the collections of antiquities in its museum ; the phenomena of its volcanic mountains ; some of these attractions, or all of them united, cannot fail to make the place agreeable and even instructive. The character of its people presents another subject of observation less usually prosecuted, but not less interesting ; and even in modern art, in which this region is most deficient, it has several works of the first painters, and a few buildings which deserve study. But this great metropolis, gay and licentious yet devoutly superstitious, ever active yet indolent and uncommercial, does not call for minute description. The city itself has no classical ruins, few monuments of the middle ages, and scarcely a specimen of architecture really good. Its streets, with very few exceptions, are deep, narrow, and gloomy ; its great buildings are in the worst taste of the seventeenth century ; the churches are as viciously showy as the

Genoese, and the palaces little better than those of Turin. The city indeed receives little injustice when we say of it that, unless for those who choose to study human character under peculiar aspects, its interior has nothing to show except its museum, which is contained in the buildings formerly belonging to the university, and still called the Studj.

One may gain a fair idea of Naples by a walk along the sea-beach, without attempting to penetrate into the heart of the city. He will see around him, shifting as he advances, and he may see in combination, by rowing out a mile or two from the quay, all the features of the landscape, the most beautiful in Europe. The Bay is flanked on the north by the low volcanic range of the Phlegræan Fields, thence by the castle and plain, and thence again on the east by the cone of Vesuvius, and the distant Apennines in the central background ; while on the south side it is shut in by the craggy summits of the Monte Sant' Angelo, running out in a long lofty promontory from Castellamare to Sorrento, and thence to cape Campanella, the most southerly point of the gulf. Beyond this headland, the picturesque yellow mass of the Isle of Capri rears its calcareous cliffs out of the sea like a fortress, and forms a bulwark on one side of the basin ; and on the corresponding side towers the conical mountain of Ischia, hiding Procida and the other low isles. The fine outline which those mountains form is filled up by the richest and most picturesque vegetation, by the dark blue face of the sea reflecting the cloudless skies, by the boats and ships which float on the bay, and by the white buildings of the villages, of the city, and of its suburbs, forming a line of fifteen or sixteen miles along the water's edge, from Posilipo to Torre dell' Annunziata. The houses, in most parts of the range, rise from the brow of a shelving pebbly beach, from which, within the city and its western suburbs, they are separated by the public road ; and this natural terrace is interrupted only by the quays of the moderately-sized harbour.

If we commence our circuit among the western suburbs of the town, we proceed from the grotto of Posilipo, or from Sannazaro's church of Santa Maria del Parto, after which we reach the fashionable suburb called the Chiaja. This quarter presents a row of handsome houses, placed beneath a height, and having before them the wide street, the enclosed shrubberies of the beautiful Villa Reale, and, beyond these, the sloping beach and the sea. We next enter the city, where we leave on the left the terraced gardens of a small royal palace, and on the right a low tongue of land, almost an island, covered by the Castel dell' Uovo, which is one of the three great forts of the town, and was built by the Norman king, William the Bad, on the site of a Roman villa. We must then quit the beach ; and after this, turning to the left, we find ourselves in the wide square called the Piazza Reale, containing the principal palace of the king, opposite to which is the newly-erected votive church of San Francesco di Paula, an imperfect imitation of the Pantheon. From the Piazza strikes off the Toledo, the principal trading street and promenade, broad, well-paved, and lined by lofty houses, with showy shops. The great theatre of San Carlo, the handsomest and most spacious in Italy, which, having been burnt in 1816, was immediately rebuilt, is close to the piazza in another place, nearer the sea ; and, by passing along its short street, we reach the Largo di Castello, the largest of the Neapolitan squares, which exhibits a very curious picture. It is one of the chief places of popular amusement, and often presents the most lively groups, for which it forms an irregular but very striking scene. The palace and its attached buildings, round which we have passed, are hidden ; but between them and the sea are the arsenals, and some works of the gloomy Castel Nuovo, the second of the city-forts, which, partly built by the conqueror Charles of Anjou, gives to the square its name, and stands between it and the water. On the other sides of the polygonal area we see shops, coffee-houses,

and the small theatres of the people, with their large painted canvass signs. We now again turn to the sea-side and arrive at the harbour, in which the most prominent feature is the fine Mole, with its two lighthouses, and its groups of sailors, porters, loungers, and story-tellers. We continue to walk along the quay, and afterwards along the sea-beach, with old houses on our left, till we are arrested by a black massy bastion, the fortress Del Carmine. This pile stands between the shore and the extensive Largo Del Carmine, the chief market-place, which has more associations and more monuments than any other spot in Naples. It is a gloomy antique square, at one end of which is the church Del Carmine, erected by the mother of the murdered Conratin over his grave. A little porphyry pillar marks the exact site of his execution. This square too was the scene of Masaniello's insurrection. Beyond it we soon leave the city at the handsome bridge of the Madalena ; but if we wish to visit Vesuvius, or the disinterred towns, a street of houses almost unbroken will carry us along the shore ten miles, from the Carmine, through Portici, Resina, Torre del Greco, and Torre dell' Annunziata.

In the interior of Naples few objects will detain us. The lofty rock which overhangs it on the north has steep streets on its flanks, a fine old Carthusian convent (now an hospital for military invalids) near its summit, and highest of all the Fort Sant' Elmo, the chief citadel of the place, founded by the Norman kings. The Cathedral, dedicated to Saint Januarius, is an ancient church ill-modernized, and contains the tomb of Charles of Anjou, that of Joanna's murdered husband Andrea opposite to it, and the chapel Minutolo, which has curious old pictures, and is the scene of the sepulchral adventure of Boccaccio's Andreuccio. Its wealthy chapel Del Tesoro has the paintings of Domenichino and Spagnoletto, with the two phials which hold the miraculous blood of the patron saint. The church of San Domenico Maggiore is one of the few edifices which pre-

serve the ancient character ; and this venerable building and its superb convent are interesting as having been, under Saint Thomas Aquinas, and for centuries after him, the stronghold of the scholastic philosophy. The nunnery-church of Santa Chiara, one of the most gaudy in Naples, contains the tomb of the luckless Joanna, with that of her father the wise king Robert : and the cloister of Monte Oliveto, now occupied by the municipal boards, was one of the latest retreats of Tasso. Among the northern suburbs we find, at the hill of Capo di Monte, a royal palace and garden, the catacombs of Saint Januarius, and the immense Poor-house ; and on the east, near the hill of Capo di Chino, is the horrible public cemetery of Santa Maria del Pianto. This is a space surrounded by walls, planted with cypresses, and divided into 366 huge pits, one of which is opened daily for the bodies of the poor, and closed up at night after quick lime has been thrown over the corpses.

THE PROVINCIAL CITIES OF NAPLES.

The fertility and dense population of the Terra di Lavoro, may be appreciated in some measure from a simple catalogue of the principal towns which lie within a few miles of Naples. On the west, the largest of these is Pozzuoli ; and in the line along the head of the Bay come successively several places, each containing more than 5000 inhabitants.* On the other sides of Vesuvius we have several equally large, all standing on the volcanic soil of the mountain, and surrounded by vineyards producing the Lacryma Christi.† On the south side of the Bay is a line of little towns, beginning at Castellamare, and taking in the picturesque Sorrento, whose plain is the paradise of the region.‡ Inland, on the north, but still almost close to Naples, are Nola,

* *On the west* :—Pozzuoli, 8000 souls. *Along the bay* :—Portici, 5000 ; Resina, 9000 ; Torre del Greco, 15,000 ; Torre dell' Annunziata, 9000.

† *Elsewhere round Vesuvius* :—Somma, 7000 ; Santa Anastasia, 6000 ; Ottajano, 15,000.

‡ *South of the bay* :—Castellamare, 15,000 ; Sorrento, 5000.

Afrajola, and Aversa ; and if we extend our circle a little, but still with no longer radius than twenty-five miles, it will embrace Piedimonte, Caserta, Capua, and Nocera, one of the old Saracenic fortresses.*

The towns in the other provinces on this side of the Faro do not stand a comparison with those of Campania. In the north, the Abruzzo Ultra has for its two principal towns Aquila and Teramo ; and the seat of government in the Abruzzo Citra is Chieti.† Aquila, splendidly situated among the highest mountains of Italy, on an eminence overhanging the stream Pescara, is semi-Gothic, both in its churches and many of its houses, which remind us forcibly of its German origin. Frederic II., wishing to strengthen his frontier towards Rome, planned the city, and in 1252 his son Conrad built it. Troops sent up into the highlands drove the inhabitants of Amiterno and Forcone together to the steep hill between those two towns ; and L'Aquila, or the Eagle, as the peasantry emphatically name it, rose by word of command. It has been more than once sacked, twice or three times shaken by earthquakes, and now wears a look of cleanly old age. It has some historical antiquities, among which the most interesting are those belonging to its church of Collemaggio, where was consecrated the feebly innocent pope Celestine V., soon destroyed by his successor Gaetani.

In the Capitanata, the unhealthy Foggia, the second town of the mainland, is the seat of the provincial government ; and the same rank belongs, in the Principato Ultra, to Avellino, and, in the Principato Citra, to Salerno, a modernized old place, beautifully situated on the sea-beach, at the head of its magnificent bay, on which, among woody rocks, stands the picturesque and famous Amalfi. The towns farther south are chiefly small. In the Terra di Bari, the city which gives name

* *Inland Towns farther distant* :—Nola, 9000 ; Afrajola, 13,000 ; Aversa, 16,000 ; Piedimonte, 5000 ; Caserta, 5000 ; Capua, 8000 ; Nocera, 7000.

† Aquila, 13,000 ; Teramo, 9000 ; Chieti, 13,000.

to the province is outdone by the prettily-situated Barletta ; and Lecce, the seat of government in the Terra di Otranto, is smaller than Taranto. The largest city in the Calabrias is Reggio, whose white flat-roofed houses, its hills, orange-gardens, and date-palms, are sometimes seen reflected on the sea in those aerial pictures which are called the Palaces of the Fairy Morgana.*

THE SICILIAN CITIES.

Sicily, notwithstanding neglect and misfortune, still exhibits in its population some vestiges of Magna Græcia. In 1824, since which time the population is believed to have received no material increase, thirty-one towns were enumerated as each containing more than 10,000 inhabitants, and sixty-three others were said each to have between 5000 and 10,000. The chief cities of its seven provinces may be considered as the most important ;† but four others have a population exceeding 15,000.‡

Palermo stands in a luxuriantly beautiful plain, surrounded by mountains, and called, by its half-oriental natives, the Vale of the Golden Shell. It is handsomely but unequally built, having many very mean houses and indifferent shops, even occupying the lowest stories of sumptuous mansions. The streets are almost all branches or crossings of the two leading ones, the Strada Cassaro, and Strada Nuova ; and the favourite promenade is the Marina, an avenue on the beach, lined by a splendid row of houses, and touching the excellent botanic garden. The dwellings are flat-roofed ; and their glass-doors and shaded balconies, with the richly decorated ice-shops,

* Foggia, 21,000 ; Avellino, 13,000 ; Salerno, 11,000 ; Amalfi, 2000 ; Bari, 15,000 ; Barletta, 17,000 ; Lecce, 14,000 ; Taranto, 18,000 ; Reggio, 16,000.

† Palermo, the viceregal city, 173,000 ; Messina, 47,000 ; Catania, 45,000 ; Girgenti, 15,000 ; Siracusa, 14,000 ; Trapani, 24,000 ; Caltanissetta, 17,000.

‡ Caltagirone, 20,000 ; Marsala, 21,000 ; Modica, 21,000 ; Ragusa, 16,000.

give a peculiar aspect to the busiest parts of the city. In the architecture of Palermo, as of most old towns in Sicily, we see, in curious succession, the Saracenic style invaded by the Norman, and both these, again, encroached on, or annihilated, by the later Italian styles. The Royal Palace, a huge mass of buildings put together in all ages, is one of the most instructive portions of this chaos ; King Roger's chapel, and Piazzì's observatory, being the two most interesting features of the pile. The Cathedral, founded in 1180, is externally Italo-Gothic, and internally of a modernized Greek. The environs contain many villas, several singular Moorish castles, and a Cemetery in the modern fashion, whose church of the Holy Spirit is that before which was offered the insult that caused the Sicilian Vespers. The Grotto of Santa Rosalia, on the picturesque Monte Pellegrino, is a favourite place of pilgrimage, and enjoys poetical as well as religious fame ; and Monreale, to the south of Palermo, possesses several remarkable architectural monuments, especially its gorgeous cathedral.

Messina is even more beautifully situated than the opposite town of Reggio, and has the best harbour in Italy. But it has been struggling in vain against decay for the last two centuries, and repeated earthquakes have left it nearly without any antiquities. That of 1783 struck it with great severity. Its ancient Cathedral still contains, especially in the three gates of its principal front, much beautiful Gothic detail ; but is more famous among the peasantry for its altar, in which is preserved a letter, said to have been written to the Messinese by the Virgin Mary. The streets are well built, and it is still the most actively commercial town in Sicily.

Catania, seated at the foot of Etna, has repeatedly suffered a fate like that of Herculaneum ; and many of its buildings, even from the middle ages, lie buried beneath thick beds of lava. In one part of the city-rampart we may see the deposit of 1669 curling above the

wall, at which it rose to the height of sixty feet, and then poured into the streets. In 1693, an earthquake shook the whole island, levelled most of the buildings in Catania with the ground, and killed there, and in other districts, not fewer than 100,000 persons. The city, requiring to be almost entirely rebuilt, was renewed in the florid taste of the age, but with wide streets, spacious squares, and an ornate boldness which, added to the pleasing scenery around, composes a fine picture, especially from the sea. The cathedral, the town-hall, the public market-place, and other edifices, are attractive ; and the neighbouring Benedictine convent of San Niccolò dell' Arena is one of the most extensive monastic piles in Europe.

Girgenti, besides the celebrated classical ruins on its hill, has a curious old cathedral in the city; but is a filthy, irregular, and poor town, though large. Syracuse has strong fortifications, narrow and dirty streets, mean public buildings, but a magnificent harbour used only by a few coasting barks. Its pagan ruins are scarcely more interesting than the Christian graves of its catacombs. Trapani, a fortified place, strongly situated on a peninsula, is commodiously built, its inhabitants are industrious, and it is the best school for seamen in Sicily. Caltanissetta is tolerably well built, and has a strong citadel. It stands in a fertile plain, near some of the rich salt mines, from which it derives its chief importance.

CHAPTER IX.

Italian Literature and Art in the Nineteenth Century.

LITERATURE—Government-Censorship—Laws affecting Copyright—Fruitfulness of the Italian Press—*Political History and Science*—Cuoco—Colletta—Gregorio—Bossi—Botta's Histories of Italy and America—Gioja's Writings on Political Economy—Ressi—*Other Classes of Prose Writers*—Historians of Literature—Antiquaries and Critics of Art—Scientific Men—*Earliest Poets of the Period*—Foscolo—Ippolito and Giovanni Pinde-monte—Monti's Life and Works—*Later Poets*—Manzoni's Works and Genius—Pellico—Niccolini—*Comic Dramatists*—Rossi—Nota—Giraud—*Italian Periodicals*—Newspapers—Journals Literary and Scientific—Annuals—ARCHITECTURE—Specimens—PAINTING—Benvenuti—Camuccini—SCULPTURE—Minor Names—Canova's Works—Thorwaldsen's Works.

LITERATURE.

THE historical chapters of this volume have furnished some materials from which to judge of the difficulties, as well as encouragements, that have affected the state of Italian literature in the times subsequent to the French revolution. Since the restoration, two causes have been particularly active in checking the prosperity of letters and philosophy.

The first is the universal control exercised by the governments over every thing that passes through the press, as well as on the importation of foreign works. The fivefold censorship of Rome, and the Index of prohibited books (which, however, is not authoritative any where but in the papal dominions), are without doubt the worst examples of this restrictive

system ; but, in every state, a similar policy is adopted. The sole redeeming point in the Italian censorship springs out of the number of separate governments, giving rise to a singular diversity of opinion among the governors, and consequently to a contrariety of policy in regard to particular literary undertakings.

But, till lately, all advantages from other sources were neutralized, and all discouragements increased ten-fold, by a second evil. This was the condition of the book-trade and law of copyright. In the Austrian, Sardinian, and Papal dominions, and in the kingdom of Naples, the laws indeed supported copyright in native books ; but no state extended protection to literary works published in any other, and piracy was incessant and ruinous. In Tuscany matters were still worse. Leopold and his advisers had unfortunately been infected by the fallacy which regards such property as a monopoly ; and, accordingly, in that duchy the laws refused protection even to native productions, unless the government should have granted to them a special privilege. A collected edition of Romagnosi's works in philosophy and jurisprudence, published not long ago at Florence, was pirated in a few months at Prato ; and Tommaseo's Dictionary of Synonymes has been twice pirated in the former city, being the very place where it was first printed. The injury inflicted on the authors of expensive and laborious works was often irretrievable. The present writer recollects to have heard, at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute in Rome, a letter read, in which Micali announced that he had just been made aware of a Milanese reprint of his book on the Ancient Italian Nations, and that he was consequently obliged to offer his own edition at a price barely sufficient to reimburse the cost of printing. In circumstances like these no price could be paid for copyright.

From the time of the Emperor Ferdinand's coronation, when the leading publishers in Lombardy petitioned for a general revision of the laws affecting them, an incessant agitation was kept up by them and their brethren,

especially those of Tuscany. In May 1840, the whole aspect of affairs was changed by a treaty then concluded, between the Emperor of Austria for his Italian states and the King of Sardinia. These sovereigns agreed that the provisions of the treaty should have the force of law in their respective dominions, and invited the other Italian governments to become parties to it. The pope, after taking some time to deliberate, has refused ; but the treaty has already been joined by the Two Sicilies and Tuscany, with the duchies of Modena and Lucca. In those states, therefore, literary property is now protected far more efficiently than in our own country. For the details of the Italian treaty, although perhaps objectionable for the long period of protection, as well as in some other respects, may yet well make those of us ashamed, who are acquainted with the faults that disfigure the corresponding sections of the English statute-book.*

* The provisions of the treaty have not yet, so far as we are aware, been published in this country. The most important of them are the following :—

A copyright or right of property is declared to exist as to all works of science, literature, and art (including pictures, statues, and drawings) which appear in the respective states ; as to theatrical works, which are protected against representation as well as against publication by printing ; as to copperplates, lithographs, medals, and plastic works. The right of publication, and of assigning the property, is in the author or his assignees during the author's life ; and, if the work has been published during the author's lifetime, it is protected for 30 years after his death. If published after his death, it is protected for 40 years from the day of publication. Works published by scientific and literary bodies are protected for 50 years from the day of publication. If works are published anonymously or under a fictitious name, the publishers are to be held as authors so long as the real author does not assert his right [a useful hint for our proprietors of periodicals]. Every article of an encyclopedia or periodical work, exceeding three printed sheets, is to be held a separate work. Newspapers and other periodicals are expressly allowed to extract passages ; but they must specify the work, and confine their extract to three printed pages of the original. Piracy is clearly and fairly defined. The sale of pirated copies is forbidden, even if the operations preparatory to the sale shall have taken place abroad. It is specially declared that the rights and exercise of the censorship shall remain entire. The treaty is to hold good for four years, and then to be either annulled (upon six months' notice from either party) or re-enacted with improvements.

When we reflect on the convulsions of the last fifty years, and consider the many obstacles still unremoved, we shall probably be disposed to wonder that mental exertion among the Italians should not have been entirely paralyzed, and its annals transformed into a dreary blank. Since the restoration, however, as well as before it, the mere amount of literary labour in Italy has been exceedingly great, not only with reference to the unfavourable circumstances, but in comparison with the results which have followed in other nations from a state of things infinitely more encouraging. There is hardly, too, any branch either of letters or of science which has not been creditably cultivated ; and in a few departments men are to be found, to whom their country may warrantably assign a station as exalted as that which belongs to their contemporaries in any other, except a few the very highest of the age.

Neither our limits nor our purpose allow even a complete enumeration of those writers who have done honour to Italian intellect in this period. As to the leading works in most departments, information is furnished, speedily and not inadequately, by several of our own periodicals. But those publications convey a very imperfect notion of the number of books which appear in Italy, many of which, indeed, printed in provincial towns, are never heard of beyond the frontiers of the state in which they are produced.

Of the men who adorned literature and philosophy before the French invasion, some, like Parini, Alfieri, and Verri, did no more than survive the first stages of the revolutionary time. Some, like Cesarotti, Denina, and Pignotti, lived long enough to experience the patronage or neglect of Napoleon. A few, not yet mentioned, whose earliest period of intellectual activity preceded the revolution, did not reach their full development till later. A very few others there are, whose works fall exclusively within the period which has elapsed since the restoration.

Political history and its cognate sciences, are, as

perhaps we might have expected, the departments of thought in which least has been effected during the last half century. Even in this field, however, Italy has given birth to several very distinguished writers, and to a few works of high value which did not appear till the revolutionary era had closed.

In history, the names of the Neapolitans Cuoco and Colletta deserve honourable mention, for the light which their exertions have thrown upon the agitated times in which they lived ; and the Sicilian Abbé Rosario Gregorio, who was a professor at Palermo, has elucidated, with remarkable success, the antiquities of his native island, especially in his principal work, the "Considerations on the History of Sicily." The most voluminous production of this kind which has appeared since the restoration, is the "History of Italy, Ancient and Modern," by Luigi Bossi of Milan, who has proved by his own example what might otherwise have been disbelieved, that it is possible to traverse even so fertile a region as this, without communicating to the reader either pleasure or new information. But the most celebrated writer in this department is the Piedmontese Carlo Botta (1766—1837), who acted a prominent part in the revolutionized government of his province. His Histories of the American War, and of Italy from 1534 to 1814, have placed him on the file of classical authors. The older portion of the latter work, embracing the period down to 1789, which was written after the other, does not by any means possess such value as might have been expected from the strong and intelligent views, and the warmly eloquent style, which distinguish Botta's account of contemporary transactions.

In political economy the Italian periodicals have long contained much dissertation ; several separate works have appeared by Valeriani of Bologna, as well as by others : and to the sagacious and liberal "History of Political Economy in Italy," by the Piedmontese exile Count Pecchio, these pages owe deep obligations. But little that calls for minute notice has been done by any

except the celebrated Melchiorre Gioja of Piacenza (1767—1829), and Adeodato Ressi, a professor in the University of Pavia.

Gioja's treatises on statistics, chiefly written under the republic and the empire, were followed by his great work, entitled a "View of the Economical Sciences," which appeared in the year 1815. These ponderous quartos, which have been termed not unaptly an Encyclopædia of the science to which they relate, are rendered, by their tabular form and oracular sententiousness, the most repulsive of all the repulsive books ever devoted to such researches. It would be rash to attempt any positive estimate of the tendency of the speculations propounded by this remarkable man, without a closer study than we have been able to bestow on them ; and in deciding on the value as well as originality of his views, it would be necessary to make constant allowance for the peculiar spirit in which they are conceived, and for the uncompromising boldness with which general principles are followed out to all their consequences, with no regard for exceptions established by experience. A very unpleasing feature of Gioja's writings is the contemptuous animosity with which he regards all preceding writers. His own countrymen, it is true, are treated more harshly than any others ; but some among ourselves may be a little surprised to learn, that, in the treatise on Rewards and Punishments which forms a kind of supplement to his work, he charges Bentham with having, in his book on the same subject, done nothing more than plagiarize an essay by one of the most obscure of the Italian economists. The only relief which one finds in wading through his speculations, is furnished by those vigorous epigrammatic turns which he so often gives to his opinions ; as, for example, the bitter sentence where he describes the monastic clergy as attempting to discharge their debts by bills drawn upon the other world, without being able to give any guarantee that the drafts will be accepted.

Ressi's treatise "On the Economy of the Human

Species," published in 1817, deduces its conclusions, as all his countrymen have a tendency to do on this subject, from truths established *a priori*, rather than from experience; and in the division of his work which discusses political economy, properly so called, his leading principle, if we do not quite misunderstand him, is just the outrageous paradox of his Venetian predecessor Ortes,—that, under all circumstances, the wealth of a state is directly proportional to its population. We need not be surprised that a writer, who founds his own system on such a basis as this, should treat all preceding philosophers as he treats Adam Smith, of whom he positively undertakes to demonstrate that his principles are quite identical with those of Quesnay. Ressi's views on special subjects are interesting to those who are curious to observe what opinions are allowed to be promulgated by persons holding official situations under the Austrian government. He condemns the celibacy of the clergy, as an institution which once favoured the interests of sound policy, but is now injurious and unseasonable; he gently insinuates a disapproval of the law of primogeniture; and he advocates, at great length, an absolute freedom of trade, in corn as well as in every thing else.

Italian literature has found historians in the course of the present century, in Ugoni, Lombardi, and Maffei, whom, however, it is scarcely fair to mention, after having omitted the names of their predecessors, such as Crescimbeni, Quadrio, Mazzuchelli, and Corniani. In antiquities, one of the highest authorities in the present age is Micali, the historian of the early Italian nations. Some injustice is perhaps done by not recording any of the other antiquaries of the time, except Sestini, Marini, Borghesi, Fea, and Nibby, with Inghirami, Guattani,—the Tuscan Rossellini, the investigator of Egyptian antiquities,—and the two most learned restorers of classical manuscripts, Angelo Mai of Milan, now a cardinal, and professor Peyron of Turin. Among the innumerable critics on art, ancient and modern, a place would be deserved by many of minor rank, besides the chiefs

of the department, the late Ennio Quirino Visconti and his son, and the Venetian Count Cicognara. In natural science, by far the brightest reputation belongs to the mineralogist Giuseppe Brocchi, a native of Bassano ; and to his name can here be added but two others, those of the astronomers Giuseppe Piazzi of Palermo, and Barnaba Oriani of Milan. If jurisprudence and moral science could be brought within the province of this chapter, several votaries of much note might be specified, at the head of whom would stand the enlightened Romagnosi, born in the district of Piacenza, whose official life closed at the fall of Napoleon, though his literary activity has lasted greatly longer.

In turning to the literature of imagination, we may select four names as the worthiest representatives of those poetical writers who connect the last century with the present :—Vincenzo Monti, the most celebrated of all, a native of the district of Ravenna (1754—1828) ; the Veronese brothers Pindemonte, of whom Giovanni (1751—1812) is far inferior, in merit as well as fame, to Ippolito (1758—1828) ; and Ugo Foscolo (1778—1827), born in Zante, but educated in Italy, who died in England, and was as well known here as abroad.

Of the enthusiastic Foscolo, it may be unnecessary to say more than simply to enumerate, as his principal compositions,—the “Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis,” a political imitation of Werter,—the wild and gloomy tragedy of “Ricciarda,”—and the poem of imaginative reflection entitled “The Sepulchres.” The most popular works of Giovanni Pindemonte are those plays which he modestly called “Dramatic Compositions.” On these dramas Sismondi has pronounced a high eulogium, from which it might be presumptuous to differ decidedly, were there not a reasonable presumption that critical judgment may have been warped by friendship, and by the respect felt for an amiable and patriotic man. The genius of Ippolito Pindemonte, on the other hand, was essentially lyrical ; and in contemplative pieces his

sensitive and religious mind most frequently gave vent to its emotions. In few writers is the moral sense higher or purer. His versified epistles are greatly prized by the Italians for their taste and feeling ; and his tragedy of “*Arminio*,” though defective in dramatic construction as well as in force of character, is delightful for its imagery, and its noble elevation of sentiment.

Monti, a man equally pliable in his own political opinions, and insolent towards those who had the assurance to differ from those views which he himself happened to hold at the time, was successively the mercenary flatterer of Pius the Sixth, of Napoleon, and of the imperial family of Austria. His countrymen, maliciously seeking to mark his transitions, are accustomed to describe his works as written by three different authors,—the Abbé Monti, the Citizen Monti, and the Chevalier Monti.

To the pope, besides more obscure acts of homage, he presented the poem which tempted the admiring Italians to call him “*Il Dante ringentilito*.” This was the *Bassvilliana*, founded on the murder of Ugues Bassville. The imagination of the poet, who had been familiarly acquainted with this unfortunate man, was excited by the fact that his death and the decapitation of the King of France took place within a few days of each other ; and he undertook, in a poem written in Dante’s stanza, and otherwise prompted by the Divine Comedy, at once to purify the memory of his friend, and to protest against his political opinions. Bassville is represented as repenting in the instant of death, and pardoned by heaven ; but his soul is sentenced, by way of expiation, to traverse France for a time and contemplate its crimes and misery. An angel directs the released spirit through scenes of slaughter to Paris, where they arrive at the moment when Louis ascends the scaffold. They afterwards encounter the king’s soul, to which Bassville confesses his guilt ; the celestial guide foretells the revenge which the nations should execute upon the regicides ; and the poem, which was

intended to have led the converted republican to heaven, terminated abruptly at the end of its fourth canto, on the invasion of Italy by the French. After the conquest Monti took office under the democratic government, and endeavoured to atone for his sins against liberty by his "Superstition," "Peril," and "Fanaticism," pieces (prudently suppressed in the recent edition of his works) in which Pius the Sixth, whose pilgrimage to Vienna he had celebrated as the triumph of the faith, is loaded with abuse, and Louis the Sixteenth, the saint of the Bassvillianas, is held up to execration as a pitiless tyrant. The Austrians next drove Monti and the French out of Italy ; and at Paris he wrote the "Mascheroniana," a Dantesque composition in which the soul of Mascheroni, a Bergamasca poet and man of science, beholds from the upper spheres the revolutions of the peninsula and the first victories of General Buonaparte. One becomes disgusted, notwithstanding the poetical beauty of the works, by proceeding to the solemnly striking vision called "The Sword of Frederic," and the long versified narrative entitled "The Bard of the Black Forest," both of which are acts of adulation to Napoleon. But it is really too much for human patience to meet the same man at the court of the Austrians after the restoration, humbly presenting his "Mystic Homage" to the Archduke John, and his "Return of Astrea" to the Emperor Francis on his visit to Milan. Of his other publications, which are exceedingly numerous, the principal are,—several ferocious attacks in prose on critics who had depreciated him,—many lyrical poems,—three tragic dramas,—and some translations from the classics, including one of the Iliad, undertaken with a share of scholarship even more slender than that of Pope himself.

In the first task of a poet,—the formation of a great design,—Monti's broadly picturesque imagination conducts him almost invariably to excellence. In the second stage,—that of executing the plan with a constant faithfulness to its spirit,—he often fails egregiously, and nowhere succeeds to more than a partial extent. He

not only wants a full perception of the harmony of parts to each other, but is altogether incapable of preserving prominently in view that leading idea which, at the outset, he has often so grandly conceived. The Bass-villiana, unquestionably his best poem, is a proof of both these propositions ; but it also displays admirably those beauties of detail, in which he is perhaps inferior to no writer of the present century. Snatches of rich and original imagery, strokes of exquisite expression, outpourings of pathos, and a pervading finish and melody of style, combined with infinite spirit and animation, justify fully the high place which the Italians usually assign to him. His tragedies have fewer of his characteristic merits than any other of his principal works. The “Galeotto Manfredi,” which was the earliest of them, is positively wretched ; and nothing tends to deform it more than those close imitations of Shakespeare, which the writer mistook for proofs that he comprehended the great poet’s genius. Little of real dramatic excellence was to be expected from one who could coolly translate whole speeches from the third act of Othello, transferring Iago’s devilish exultation to his own weakling conspirator, and the sublime agony of the Moor to a jealous Italian wife. The “Aristodemo” is greatly superior, and the “Caio Gracco,” with its eloquent declamation, is the best of all ; but neither earns any new laurels for the Italian drama. The adoption of Alfieri’s bare and peremptory forms prevented Monti almost entirely from giving to his plays that adornment, with which his warm imagination and feeling might have invested works constructed on the romantic model.

Among those poetical names whose celebrity has arisen since the peace, by far the highest is that of Alessandro Manzoni, born in 1784, a man of noble family, whose mother was a daughter of the philosopher Beccaria. The only pieces of this author which attracted much notice before the restoration were the original and beautiful religious lyrics called “Inni Sacri.” His

tragedy "Il Conte Carmagnola," published in 1820, was followed, three years afterwards, by a second, called "Adelchi;" and in 1827 appeared his historical romance, "I Promessi Sposi," by which he is best known in this country. Since that time, devoted to retirement and religious contemplation, he does not seem to have given any thing to the world except a treatise "On the Morality of Catholicism." His dramas are peculiar for Italy, in so far as they adopt the romantic or English model, with which they endeavour to unite something like the ancient chorus.

That Manzoni's genius is properly dramatic, will not be asserted by any one who is adequately versed in the principles of that department of invention in either of its two great schools. Even those elements which, according to the conditions under which they are manifested, produce the diversified sorts of narrative poetry, from the heroic epic down to the domestic novel, appear in his works unfrequently and imperfectly. He is essentially a lyrical poet. His mind cannot throw itself back upon the world of the past, either to relate its mental history with the inspired fidelity of an eye-witness who sees its events through the medium of philosophical imagination, or to reproduce its revolutions in an actual representation so as to identify himself dramatically with the beings whose characters he draws. He stands forth before us in his own person, as the thinker, the inventor, the actor of the scene ; he calls up its thoughts, and images, and feelings, as things strictly subordinate to his own contemplative emotions,—as things whose poetical existence, whose impression upon our sensibility, arises solely out of the effects which they are felt to produce upon the mind of the writer himself. In believing this of Manzoni, we believe only that which is true, to a greater or less extent, of all the most imaginative intellects of our time : we attribute to him the character which, to take examples from our own country, belongs to Scott less than to any other poet of this age, but which marks the inventions of Coleridge and Byron more than those of all

others. In believing all this, too, we believe nothing but what is consistent with the conviction that Manzoni is a man of high and original genius : and this conviction must be unhesitatingly entertained, and its results warmly felt, by all real lovers of literature.

Acting within the limits thus indicated, the poetical faculty of this distinguished Italian is characterized by two remarkable qualities. The one is that vividness of imagination, working indeed by repeated efforts, but triumphant in its final effect, which stamps on the mind of his readers a picture, glowing, strong, and gorgeous, of those historical scenes in which he delights to dwell. In the Lombard tale which is told in the *Adelchis*, we accompany the poet and his Deacon of Ravenna on their perilous journey across the Cottian Alps ; we walk at his side through the cloisters of the convent at Brescia, and among the tents where, in the vale of Susa, lie encamped Charlemagne and his Franks ; and we lament with him over that ruin in which valour and goodness sink at length, destroyed by an alliance with unfaithful weakness, and by the enmity of unscrupulous and greedy power. In the *Carmagnola*, we grieve with the Italian of our own times over those miseries of his nation, which are shadowed forth in the scenery and characters of Venetian history during the fifteenth century : and in the *Betrothed* we accompany the sorrowful observer through the valleys and over the mountains of Lombardy, amidst the guilt and wretchedness, the helplessness of the many and the oppression of the few, which made life in that beautiful region a burden for the victims of Spanish misgovernment.

The second distinguishing feature of Manzoni's genius is the singular harmony, simplicity, and gentleness of the religious feeling which reigns in all his works. If he never rises, like Wordsworth, into that philosophical mood which strives to reconcile the moral anomalies of the universe by the united strength of faith and reason, so, on the other hand, he never mars the unity of his idea by the admission of such heterogeneous elements as those dark

shades of superstition which brood so often over the compositions of Lamartine. For Manzoni, the world is the work of a being all goodness, and life is a conflict whose mysteries he cannot fathom, but whose issue he is persuaded must be directed to good. Those lyrical poems which, either appearing as separate pieces, or inserted as choruses in the tragedies, are by far his finest productions, exhibit the concentration of this piously contemplative spirit. It pervades, in the *Adelchis*, the song which depicts the alarm of the Frankish invasion, and the exquisite hymn which the nuns chant at the deathbed of the deserted Ansberga ; in the *Carmagnola* it softens the martial animation of the noble poem on the civil discords of Italy : and it is the reigning or sole idea of the most beautiful of all the poet's lyrics, the ode called "The Fifth of May," a requiem to the departed soul of Napoleon. But the same temper is every where present ; and some notion of the form in which it develops itself may be gathered from the concluding passages of that touching scene which closes the *Carmagnola*.

Act V. Scene Last.—In the Dungeons of Saint Mark at Venice.
The Count Carmagnola; Antonietta, his wife; Matilda, his daughter; Gonzaga, a Condottiere.

* * * * *

Carmagn. My daughter ! let not from thine innocent heart
 The cry arise of vengeance,—which is sin,—
 To trouble these last moments. They are sacred !
 Our wrong is heavy : pardon it, and learn
 How bright a joy is ours in deepest ill.
 —Death ? The most savage foe can do no more
 Than make it swifter. Oh ! mankind have not
 Invented death : then would it have been cruel,
 Yea, insupportable. From heaven it cometh,
 And heaven hath joined with it such consolation
 As man can neither give nor take away.

—*Gonzaga* ! I hold out to thee the hand
 Which thou hast grasped, when, in the morn of battle,
 We knew not whether we should meet at even.
 Wilt thou enfold it once again, and give me
 Thy promise to be escort and defence
 To these poor females, till they reach the home
 Of their far distant kinsmen ?

Gonzaga. I do promise it !

Carmagn. Enough—If thou returnest to the camp,

Salute my brothers. I die innocent :
 Thou saw'st my acts, my very thoughts, and know'st it.
 Tell them my sword was not dishonoured—never!—
 I am no traitor : the betray'd am I.

—Then, when the trumpets for the battle blow,
 And when the banners waver in the breeze,
 Bestow a thought on him who was thy friend.
 And, the day after battle, when the hymn
 Sounds sad, and, standing on the field of blood,
 The priest with lifted hands presents to heaven
 The sacrificial offering for the dead,—
 Remember me ; for I too thought to die
 On such a field as that.

Antonietta. Oh heaven, have pity !
Carmagn. My wife ! my child ! The hour is come to part :
 Adieu !

Matilda. No, father, no !

Carmagnola. Yet once again
 Come to my heart : and now in mercy go !
Antoni. No : they shall tear us from thy breast by force !

[*The tramp of armed men is heard.*] *Matil.* Ah me ! what noise is that ?

Antonietta. Great God in heaven !

[*The door of the dungeon opens, and armed men present themselves : Their captain advances towards the Count : The females swoon.*]

Carmagn. Merciful ! from the hour of agony
 Thou savest them : I thank thee !—Friend, assist them :
 Take them away from this ill-omened pile ;
 And, when they look again upon the light,
 Tell them—that there is nothing more to fear !

[*The curtain drops.*]

A temper very similar to Manzoni's, but supported by a genius much weaker in every respect, characterizes the writings, chiefly tragic, of Silvio Pellico of Saluzzo, born in 1789. The history of this unfortunate gentleman has been made familiar to all of us, by his placidly melancholy account of his ten years' imprisonment. The same trembling, feminine delicacy of feeling which pervades that work, is every where present in his dramas, and is made yet more perceptible by the choice which he has usually made of subjects little reconcileable with that feature of his mind. The plays which he composed in prison, and others published in 1832, display most strongly his liking for intensely tragic stories ; but the same fondness is visible in those older pieces by which

he is best known. The *Francesca da Rimini* errs from the foundation, in its attempt to bring up Dante's condemned spirits from their prison-house ; and the execution of the design is much inferior to that of the *Eufemio da Messina*, which, however, has much feebleness, both poetical and dramatic, though with occasional intervals of really profound feeling.

There is far more depth of pathos, with singular simplicity both of conception and arrangement, in the tragedies of the Florentine Giovanni Battista Niccolini, born in 1786. These pieces enjoy a very high reputation throughout Italy ; while several of them have received the distinction of being prohibited by some governments as politically dangerous. The *Giovanni di Procida* may perhaps be considered as the most successful among those works of his with which we are acquainted ; although its horrible story of the Sicilian Vespers is less suited either to the purposes of the drama in general, or to the peculiar character of the poet's mind, than that of his Venetian tragedy, *Antonio Foscarini*, which, published in 1827, formed the basis of his fame. The national spirit of these plays is exceedingly strong ; but the enthusiasm they excited seems to have been paralleled by that which has been lately produced by the author's "*Rosamunda*," the subject of which is the love of Henry the Second of England for his fair mistress.

Among the comic dramatists of the present century, three may be noticed : the Roman Gherardo de' Rossi (1754—1827) ; Alberto Nota, a lawyer of Turin, born in 1775 ; and the late Count Jean Giraud, who, though of French parentage, received his birth and education at Rome. Rossi's comedies, the best of which belong to the last century, display less wit or originality than refinement of taste and knowledge of the world. Some of them, however, like the "*Indolent Man's Family*," are lively pictures of real life ; others have much interest of story, and one or two, like the "*English Shoemaker in Rome*," are clever caricatures. The best of all is the "*Widow's Tears*," a modern imitation of the *Widow of Ephesus*, executed

with much humour and remarkable liveliness of action. Nota's comedies, whose dates, with two or three recent exceptions, range from the beginning of this century down to 1826, are favourites in Italy, and occasionally exhibit great skill in stage-effect : but those we have seen share in the defects which deform Goldoni's, without possessing many of his redeeming excellencies, while several of them hover on the verge of sentimentalism, into which others plunge headlong. Giraud's comic pieces, though some are mere farces, have an amusing liveliness and hurry of incident, with situations often irresistibly laughable, and sketches of character which, strongly over-coloured, are not on that account the less diverting. If this species of Italian literature in our age cannot rank high, Giraud may at all events be placed at the head of it. His "*Prognosticante Fanatico*" is extremely humorous, both in its story, and in the character of its conceited hero. "*Don Desiderio*" is less happy in the plot, but its picture of manners in a provincial town is painted from the life ; and its principal personage, with his incessant efforts of philanthropy always producing mischief, is conceived in a genuine dramatic spirit. The poet's "*Ajo nell' Imbarazzo*" has become, through a French medium, the source of a well-known English farce.

The numerous followers of Manzoni in the historical novel, such as Grossi, D'Azeglio, and others, must be passed over without notice ; and the romances of Professor Rosini of Pisa, the best of the class, whose *Nun of Monza* and *Luisa Strozzi* are well known in this country, would scarcely demand, for their success either in passion or character, that praise which belongs to them as illustrations of Tuscan literature and art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the tragic drama, the native reviews have noticed with commendation the recent works of Somma and Marenco.

The Italian newspapers are universally worthless ; but there are several journals of literature and science which hold a very respectable rank. The best of them was probably the *Antologia* of Florence, suppressed by the

government in 1833. The most valuable of those which remain is the *Biblioteca Italiana* of Milan, whose editors, at its commencement in 1816, were Monti, Breislak, Giordani, and Acerbi ; and the latest list of its conductors which has come under our notice, specified names hardly less creditable, those of Gironi, Carlini, Fumagalli, and Brugnatelli. One of our own reviews, in 1836, calculated the whole number of Italian periodicals, political, literary, and scientific, at 188 ; being, in Milan, 26 ; in Venice, 11 ; in Trieste, 8 ; in Turin, 13 ; in Genoa, 5 ; in Modena, 4 ; in Florence, 7 ; in Rome, 9 ; in Naples, 27 ; in Sicily, 20 ; and in Sardinia, 2. Those ephemeral productions which we call annuals have found their way into Italy within the last ten years, and are now numerous ; but two or three of them have much more merit and practical usefulness than any thing of the kind among us. The Milanese *Strenna Italiana*, an annual for 1839, besides poems and novels, contained treatises on the antiquities of history and art, on botany, and on ethics ; and the *Strenna Popolare* had essays on savings banks and foundling hospitals.

ARCHITECTURE, PAINTING, AND SCULPTURE.

No department of Italian art in this century, except one, can claim in a sketch like this any minute attention. The names of two sculptors, and one of these a foreigner, alone redeem the reputation of the peninsula from the lowness into which it has sunk.

In architecture, the principal undertakings have been two. The triumphal arch of Milan, begun by Napoleon in 1807, and continued in honour of Francis after 1814, was finished for Ferdinand in October 1837 ; and its completion had been preceded by that of the votive church of San Francesco in the Piazza Reale at Naples. Neither these works, nor the few buildings in Rome, entitle us to assume that the art, under Cagnola, Simonetti, and its other leaders, has advanced a single step since the middle of last century.

Painting received from the French school of David an

impulse which is not yet spent ; but the direction given is a wrong one, and the results have been very far from satisfactory. In this path, there is no Italian artist of the present day who rises above the level of Mengs. Among the best are, the Tuscan Bezzuoli, Hayez of Venice, and Sabatelli at Milan, where also some ambitious frescoes were executed by Appiani. The two most celebrated painters, however, are Pietro Benvenuti of Florence, whose most extensive works are frescoes in San Lorenzo and the Pitti Palace ; and Vincenzo Camuccini of Rome, whose oil pictures enjoy much reputation in Italy. After having omitted to name Morghen, Volpati, Piranesi, Pinelli, and other deceased engravers of the last century or this, we may be allowed to pass over those of the present day, though several of them are exceedingly skilful.

Sculpture has been more fortunate. In Rome the Venetian D'Este ranked, till his death in 1837, as the first of the native professors, though the Florentines claim that and much higher praise for Bartolini. But neither these men, nor Finetti, Ricci, and others, seem to require more than that passing notice which we are compelled to refuse to far better artists among the English and Germans.

We now reach the two most illustrious names of art in our times. The genius of Canova, besides making sculpture fashionable, and purifying the public taste from many infections communicated during the preceding ages, formed a style of soft and voluptuous beauty in which he has found many imitators. Thorwaldsen's classical refinement and profound poetical feeling, if they have fewer admirers, belong to a higher order of art.

Antonio Canova was born in 1759, at the village of Possagno in the territory of Venice. Educated by the charity of a noble family, and sent to Rome at the age of twenty-three, he had not resided two years in that city before he discarded the dry fidelity to nature which had been in youth his chief merit, and exhibited an approach

to the idealism of the antique. His genius received universal homage; his whole life was like a procession of triumph; his amiable and generous character endeared him to every one; and the large sums which he received for his works were unsparingly devoted to the service of art, and the encouragement of deserving artists. He was the first sculptor who introduced the practice, now universal, of leaving the statue to be blocked out and finished to the last stratum of the marble by inferior workmen, using careful measurements from a model exactly the size of the marble; and this method enabled him to produce a surprising number of works. The list includes fifty-three modelled statues and groups, all of which were executed in the marble except five, and many were several times repeated; twenty sepulchral monuments, besides two unexecuted models; thirty-one busts, and twenty-five bas-reliefs. He died at Venice in 1822, bequeathing the bulk of his fortune, with several of his favourite works and designs, for the decoration of a church which he had built in his native village.

The spell which hung about Canova as the restorer of art has now been broken; and it is hardly to be believed that posterity will allow him that merit which has been claimed for him, as not less successful in the heroic style than in the beautiful and the tender. Neither his exaggerated group of Hercules slaying Lichas,* nor the graceful but effeminate and uncharacteristic Perseus with the head of Medusa,† seems fitted to found the claim, which perhaps might be better rested on the colossal figure of Religion on Alfieri's tomb, in Santa Croce at Florence. The works into which the artist threw most of his mind, and in which his exquisite delicacy of finish appears to most advantage, are those in which the feeling is one of placid repose, or of amorous or even voluptuous tenderness. Such are his statues of Hebe;—his

* In the Torlonia Palace at Rome.

† In the Vatican; Cortile di Belvedere, No. 47. Canova's Boxers are Nos. 48 and 49 in the same court.

delightful groups of Cupid and Psyche in various arrangements ;—his three Female Dancers, so well known by engravings on black grounds, like the Vesuvian antiquities ;—his Venus of the Pitti palace ;*—and his lovely group of the Three Graces.†

Among Canova's monumental works, the most remarkable are, the tomb of Clement XIV. in the Santi Apostoli in Rome ;—that of Clement XIII. in Saint Peters, in which the figure of the youthful genius has much of the style which the artist soon brought to perfection ;—and the tomb of the Archduchess Christina in the church of the Augustines at Vienna. The last of these, executed in his best days, exhibits both invention and feeling beyond any other of his productions. Its principal object is a pyramid, on the steps of which an angel sorrowfully watches a procession advancing from the opposite side, and entering at the door of the tomb. The first group is formed by a young matron bearing an urn, and said to be an allegory for Virtue, with whom are two girls carrying torches ; and these are followed by a figure of Beneficence, leading a blind old man, and accompanied by a female child in the attitude of prayer. In the higher part of the pyramid, Felicity bears up the medallion of the princess, wreathed round by the serpent, the emblem of eternity.

Canova's bas-reliefs, none of which except two were ever executed in the marble, are far from being his best performances. Most of his busts are excellent ; and among his ideal heads, a favourite class of subjects with him, the Laura rises in character above some of his statues whose subjects are much more ambitious.

Albert Thorwaldsen was born at Copenhagen in 1770, and though still alive, belongs already to history. He went to Rome in his twenty-seventh year, pensioned by

* Two repetitions ; one at Munich, the other the Marquis of Lansdowne's ; a third, with variations, Mr Hope's.

† At Munich : repeated, with variations, for Woburn Abbey.

the Danish Academy of Arts ; and his life has, with few intervals, been spent in that city ever since. His example has produced strong effects on the German sculptors, but scarcely any on the Italians. He has nothing of Canova's voluptuous feeling, and too little of that artist's fine eye for form, in which he is often chargeable with meagreness ; but in his representation of the countenance he is his rival's superior, and still more so in that deep poetical expression which he gives to his works, and of which his allegorical figures of Day and Night in bas-relief are delightful examples. His statues are frequently mythological subjects of the same class with Canova's ; but in the best of them he slightly quits that path, as in the Mercury unsheathing his sword to slay the sleeping Argus, a fine though rather spare figure, with a head of the highest ideal beauty. Thorwaldsen's fame rests most securely on his bas-reliefs, of which some single pieces are exquisitely poetical both in their subjects and the treatment ; and his Triumphal Entrance of Alexander into Babylon, a long series of figures for a frieze, is both beautiful and significant. His greatest efforts in point of size, the scriptural statues for the cathedral of Copenhagen, have been more admired there and in Germany than they were in Italy.

CHAPTER X.

Illustrations of the National Character and Habits of the Modern Italians.

RACES—*Foreigners*—Six Groups—*Natives*—Dialects—Characteristics Physical and Mental—Classical Reminiscences—Local Distinctions—RELIGION—*Catholicism and Dissenters*—Modern Revolutions—The Inquisition—Protestantism extirpated—The Waldenses—*The Clergy*—Regular—Secular—Their modern Character—Aspect of Catholicism—Picturesque Features—Brotherhoods—Ceremonies—SECULAR RELATIONS—THE PEOPLE—*The Statistical Position*—Pauperism—Charitable Institutions—Agricultural Population—Rural Tenures—Population of the Towns—Lotteries—Savings Banks—*The Religion of the People*—Superstitions of the Church—Miracles—Superstitions of the People—Ghosts—Witches—Treasure-seeking—*The Morality of the People*—Virtues—Vices—Assassination—Brigandage—The Islands—*Popular Amusements*—The Carnival—The popular Theatres—Puppets—Miracle-Plays—*The Literature of the People*—Its Origin—Story-tellers—Improvvisatori—Classes of Books—Religious—Classical—Chivalrous—Robber-stories—Romantic—Comic—Political—Miscellaneous—THE HIGHER RANKS—*Religion, Morality, and Habits*—Town Life—Villeggiatura—Education—Employments—Religious Observances—Morality—Cicisbeism—Improvements—*Aristocratic Amusements*—Operatic Music—Improvvisatori—Literary Academies—Scientific Societies—Agricultural Societies.

THE RACES OF THE ITALIANS.

IN reference to language and origin, the permanent inhabitants of Italy are divisible into two classes. The Italians, properly so called, form the first, which comprises the whole population except a fraction: the second,

sprung from foreign blood, cannot altogether amount to much more than 150,000 souls, and yet the six tribes which constitute it deserve a passing notice.

The most numerous race of these exotic settlers consists of several colonies in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which, though they contain a few Mainotes and other Greeks, are almost wholly Albanian. On the mainland they were reckoned a few years ago at 51,000 ; and in Sicily their numbers have been perhaps overrated at 10,000. The earliest of them came over at the time when Constantinople was taken by the Turks ; but the great mass, occupying thirty-four villages in the Calabrias, was introduced, about 1478, by Scanderbeg's fugitive son Joannes Castriota. Three or four subsequent migrations, ending in the year 1790, have been unimportant. The second race of foreigners is that of the Catalans in Sardinia, who exist tolerably pure at Alghero, to the number of 6700 souls, the town having been planted with Spaniards by the Aragonese kings in the fourteenth century. The third race is that of the Jews, whose total number may be about 40,000. The fourth is composed of the luckless Zingari or Gipsies, who first appeared in Italy in 1422, have never been numerous, and are now very rare. Their chief encampments are in the Calabrias. The fifth group is composed of a Teutonic tribe, speaking a corrupt dialect of the old German, who occupy two stations among the roots of the Tyrolese Alps. These mountaineers have been called a remnant of the Cimbri, who were defeated by Marius ; but they are more probably successive deposits left by the floods of barbarians during the dark ages. The first, and better known of their two sections, is that of the Sette Communi (or, as they call themselves, the Sieben Perghe), in the Vicentine territory. Their elevated district, covering eighty-six square miles, contains the seven little communes or boroughs from which it takes its name, with twenty-four villages, and about 25,000 inhabitants. The chief town, Asiago, has 5000 souls. The second section,

that of the Tredici Comuni, or Thirteen Communes, in the Veronese, has been less observed, and appears to be less considerable. Its largest village, Badia Calavena, has a population of nearly 2000. These isolated Teutons constituted under the Venetian government a sort of smuggling free state ; but they are now placed unreservedly under the Austrian rule, retaining only some agricultural monopolies. The sixth and last of the foreign races in Italy, is that of the Protestant Vaudois or Waldenses, inhabiting, in Piedmont, near Pignerolo, three Alpine valleys, called Val Lucerne, Val Pragelas or Angroyna, and Val San Martin. Their number may be estimated at about 22,000, and their dialect is a corrupted Provençal, which is rapidly passing into modern French.—The foreign traders settled in some of the commercial towns, are, except the Jews, so insignificant in numbers that they do not deserve a place as a separate class. More of them are from Greece than from any other country.

All the other inhabitants of Italy and its islands, forming the Italian nation, may be considered as having a common origin and language. They are descended from the ancient races, although they have every where suffered some admixture, and, in several districts, have a pedigree as much foreign as native. The German tribes in Upper Italy, the Greeks and Spaniards in Sardinia, the Greeks in Lower Italy, and the Greeks and Saracens in Sicily, have left the most perceptible traces ; and these, with slighter infusions of foreign blood, added to the original diversities, make the population here more mixed than that of any other European country. The diversity is first perceptible in the language.

All the varieties of the language are substantially based on the Latin ; but even the written form itself, usually called the Italian as distinguished from its dialects, shows strongly the action of the transalpine tongues on its formation. The spoken language, which in no province is exactly the written one, exhibits foreign influences yet more curiously ; and in the peninsula it

divides itself into three groups, those of Upper, Middle, and Lower Italy ; to which are to be added the dialects of the islands.

For the written language, the name of Tuscan is often claimed, as if Tuscany were the only region to which it belonged ; but one common tongue, differing in local idiom, yet essentially the same, and not deviating materially from the written language, is spoken in nearly the whole of Middle Italy. It is first met when we cross the Apennines from Modena or Bologna, and extends along the western side of the mountains, over Tuscany and the western half of the Roman State to Terracina, or a little farther. It stretches eastward also over Sabina and the Abruzzi, and partially into the March of Ancona. The Tuscan idioms, particularly in Florence, and a little to the north of it, are regarded as the purest ; but the pronunciation in most districts of that province is harshly guttural. In the neighbourhood of Rome it is softer ; and the well-known proverb declares the perfection of the language to be, the union of Tuscan words and idiom with Roman accent and pronunciation.* We must understand this however of the educated classes ; for the lower order of Romans have an unpleasant drawl and great incorrectness of speech.

The dialects of Upper Italy are a labyrinth, for which it is difficult to find a clue. Those who inhabit the valley of the Po, as far eastward as Verona, have derived from their Gallic ancestors a strong tendency to nasal sounds and shut vowels. In Piedmont, this foreign pronunciation extends over the whole language : very many of the words are French ; the Italian terminations are struck off ; and the dialect, although rather soft, shows, more than any other, the modern prevalence of exotic influences. The Milanese has the same truncated endings and French sounds, but is not so very impure. The Bergamasque, the language of Arlecchino in the farces, is the worst jargon in Italy except one, and is

* Lingua Toscana in Bocca Romana.

regarded as evincing a predominance of Lombard blood in the inhabitants. Its transformations of the words are incessant, its contractions bold, its sounds harsh, and its idioms very peculiar. The Bolognese, the most grating and uncouth of all, is not so impure in its vocabulary, nor so arbitrary in its metamorphoses, as several of the others ; but it is a kind of spoken short-hand, in which every word is pared down to the smallest possible dimensions. The Venetian prevails both on the Lagunes and on the mainland, as far westward as the Lake of Garda ; at Padua however much less characteristically than at Vicenza or Verona. It is completely different from the other tongues of the north, and is the most musical of any, while its contractions, its elisions, and substitutions, all increase its softness. It is richly idiomatic, and has no French constructions, words, or sounds. The remaining dialects between the Alps and Apennines are merely variations on one or more of those now named ; and their diversities, which are not the same in any two towns, would enable us to add seven or eight to the list. The Genoese patois may be placed in the northern group for its French vowels and nasal twang.

The dialects of Lower Italy, if minutely explored, would probably afford as many varieties as those of the north. The Neapolitan is not an unpleasant tongue ; and its character,—of exaggeration in sound, of invention, especially in abuse, and of whimsical substitutions of one consonant for another,—is not unlike that of the roguish people who speak it. It often exhibits the diminutives of the written language in a very comical caricature.* This dialect has little Greek ; but the Calabrian, which is analogous to it, has a great deal, and differs chiefly from the Neapolitan by its corrupted Hellenic terms,

* There is something extremely ludicrous in the artifices used by the Neapolitan, when ordinary words, aided by his theatrical gestures, fail in conveying the full weight of his meaning. It is not uncommon for him to inflict upon substantives all the known, and some unknown, degrees of comparison. A boatman at Sorrento was asked if a certain picture was a good picture (*quadro*). “A *quadro!*” answers he, “it was a *quadrissimo!*”

and by the closeness of its vowels, which brings it far towards the insular languages.

The Sicilian, one of the most musical of the dialects, and perhaps more poetical and graceful than the written tongue, borrows many words from the Greek, and not a few from the Arabic. It is fertile in diminutives and augmentatives of its own, and in peculiar idioms ; and, besides its shut vowels, has numerous changes of consonants, some of which are very like the language of Sardinia. The patois of this island seems to have as many varieties as the Italian, but the dialect of Campidano is acknowledged as the type. It has, like the others, numerous transformations of letters ; and its composition is said to be nearly the following :—14,000 words from the Latin or Italian, 3000 Greek, a large number of Spanish, and a good many whose roots are not traceable. The Corsican, a very corrupt jargon, has been described as a compound of Tuscan, Sicilian, Sardinian, Genoese, and French.

The Italians exhibit differences in personal appearance, which do not indeed exactly correspond with the varieties of tongue, but might nearly be classed according to the leading changes of that sort. There is a common type for all, an essential similarity which forms our idea of the national physiognomy and person ; and this type never allows us to forget that the people are sprung from a race quite unlike that Teutonic one, which has now spread over so much of the earth, giving birth to the conquerors of the old world and the peoplers of the new. The physiognomies which correspond most nearly with the distinctive character, are found in the south, where the rich complexion, the dark fiery eye, and the firm features, are the joint offspring of the ancient blood and of the modifying climate. From Sicily to the south of Naples, thence to Middle Italy, and thence again to Lombardy, a gradation is easily perceived ; and in the peninsula itself, it is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose, that we can distinguish four leading varieties. The first may be observed under several local changes in Lombardy ; the

second, belonging to the finest race of all, and probably most near to the ancient, is seen in greatest purity among the central mountains of Sabina and the Abruzzi ; the third presents itself in the Terra di Lavoro ; and the fourth in the southern Neapolitan provinces.

There is a formidable difficulty in determining or classing the leading features, or the local distinctions, of Italian character, moral or intellectual. We have seen in the history of the nation the multifarious influences to which it has been subjected ;—a people divided against itself, hating and destroying itself by sections ;—a people portioned out among foreign masters, every one of whom has at one time or another made it his favourite purpose to annihilate its nationality ;—a people among whom the same province has in few instances continued long to serve the same ruler. A wide region of observation is thus opened, over which it is all but impossible under any circumstances to travel, and in which a few portions only can be here surveyed.

Common features, however, certainly do exist in the character of the Italian nation. The incidents of their history, since the dark ages, bring forward some of these more prominently than any formal dissection of them ; and the ancient annals exhibit others.

The field which is presented by the identities or differences of ancient and modern customs is in itself all but boundless, and extends over every department of life and character. We see the old classicism in the configuration of the people themselves ; we see it in their costume, as, for example, the cloak of the Umbrians ; we see it in the claim which the Transtiberine natives of the Papal city set up as the only genuine descendants of the Romans ; and we trace it in the distorted yet picturesque versions of ancient history, which the peasants, living amidst antique ruins, and digging up armour, coins, and vases in their fields, repeat to each other as our country people used to tell tales of ghosts and murders. We have local relics of the classical ages in shapes innumerable, many of which recall to us the most char-

acteristic features of ancient provincial character. The modern Neapolitans and Sicilians have a language of signs, which, indeed, is more or less intelligible to all, from Syracuse to the Alps, but is best comprehended in the southern provinces. Its favourite hieroglyphs may be seen figured on the walls of Pompeii ; for the lively fancy and flexible organs of the ancient Italo-Greeks taught them the language of gestures three thousand years ago. The colonists of the Hellenic Neapolis would have perfectly understood the oration which, in 1815, the late king Ferdinand delivered to the populace, in dumb-show, from his palace window, intimating to them that he knew they had tried to burn the city, that the police had done quite right in punishing them, and that they had now better go home and be quiet if they could. The relation of the Church in Italy to the classical times would require volumes for its illustration. Some of the features derived from paganism are not the most offensive parts of the ritual ; and the pomp of processions in Rome probably surpasses the splendour of the ancient mysteries. The most lavishly endowed temple of Neptune or Mars could not have displayed a more prodigious treasure of offerings, than the votive pictures and images which cover the walls of the glimmering passages, in the gaudy church of our Lady of Consolation at Genoa. The alternate prostration before the saints, and irreverent reproach of them, exhibited by the Neapolitan and Sicilian mariners, are quite classical. The recesses at the corners of the streets, containing each a bust or picture of the Madonna, which pious people crown with garlands, illuminate with lamps, and honour with hymns every evening when the bell rings for the Ave-Maria, come in the place of the ancient niches of the Dii Compitales : and the music of the bagpipe and flageolet, played by the Abruzzese peasants at Christmas before those figures in Rome, is antique in every particular. The Amulets and the Evil Eye are other specimens of ancient superstitions become modern. The classic amusements revived in new shapes are numberless. One of the most

common sports of the people, La Morra, whose vociferation stuns us in every street, is the ancient “*micare digitis*,” which Octavianus, a tyrant till he became a sovereign, made a father and son play for their lives. The game of discus or quoits is still practised on the grass of the Forum ; and the *Follis pugillatorius* of Plautus ; the ball which the players keep incessantly in the air, is played with, in the later months of every summer, by numerous bands of young Romans. The publicity of modern Italian life in all ranks, is a yet more general feature derived from ancient times ; and what the forum and the basilicæ were for the old nation, the street-corner, the coffee-house, and the *conversazione*, are for their descendants. The very shops are antique. Those of Pompeii exactly resemble the modern ones which, formed by three walls, have the side towards the street completely open by day, and closed at night by folding doors, like those of an English coach-house. But we must leave the inexhaustible fund of such illustrations to be partially drawn by the reader from other studies. Facts of more practical value press on our attention.

Among the many features which are common to the whole people, one of the most prominent is that intensity which belongs to all the southern nations of Europe ; a vehemence which is not so truly a stronger feeling than that of the north, as a feeling evinced in a different form ; a flame which blazes out, where the fire of northern passion would smoulder while it consumed. A second characteristic is one which it is difficult to define, but to which, as a common cause, many of the most important events in Italian history seem to be referable. It is substantially a craving of the imagination for visible forms. It is the principle which has made the Italians a nation of artists ; it has made them cling with fondness to the sensible representations of their religion, and has even taught them to force that religion to a farther development of its own most dangerous tendency ; it made the republics the dupes of their usurpers, and bent the knees of the Venetians before an image of freedom

and majesty which they had set up to crush them ; it generated a reckless pomp which has ruined the fortunes of the Italian nobility, and an eagerness for rapid gain which makes the mass of the people desperate gamesters. The feeling was less completely developed in ancient times ; but perhaps it aided in training the provinces subdued by Rome to become willing ministers to the greatness of their conquerors. One other trait of character may perhaps be analyzed into a combination of the two former. It is a predominance of the imagination over the reflective faculties. This predominance determines the tone of the national literature, as being, in its inventive branches, a thing of the fancy rather than of the feelings ; it determines the political character of the people, and is the force which has crushed almost every revolution they have attempted. It affects the structure of society, by producing that publicity in preference to domestic privacy, which has distinguished the nation from the earliest ages ; it is strikingly observable in the mental constitution of individuals, and in the tone of moral sentiment ; and it may be detected in the peculiar channels in which immorality has flowed. There is yet one feature, whose prevalence from the very birth of the nation prevents us from believing it accidental. The Italians are devoured by local jealousies and dislikes, which ramify in the most singular manner. If province dislikes province, city dislikes city quite as bitterly ; and the districts of the same town make feuds within their own walls, when they have no foreign foe to satisfy their passion for hatred. This vice, though now considerably abated, is far from being entirely removed.

But many of the most interesting phenomena of national character have been obscured by the tempest of political events. We must trace the people a little way in the track of their domestic and individual life ; a region which will allow us no more than a glimpse of its scenes, and which we cannot pretend to describe with connexion or completeness. But a few groups may convey a faint idea at least of the great picture.

In depicting a nation like this, one incurs a continual danger of marring the likeness, by mixing up inconsistently the characteristics of different provinces. Even with more ample materials than have been possessed by any one who has yet written on Italian manners, this risk could not be completely obviated without a minuteness of detail which these pages do not permit. Another danger is that of mixing up in one view the peculiarities of different and dissimilar classes of society ; and this is an injury which the Italians have very often suffered from foreigners. If we are unfavourably prepossessed (as in this country we too generally are), we take the worst features of all ranks, and compound them into a character which is absolutely hideous. It may be possible in some degree to avoid this error, but only if we make in description a careful separation between the different orders which compose the nation. Although no classification of this kind will be quite accurate, there is at least a broad barrier between the highest and the lowest members of the community ; and the intermediate degrees may be allowed to remain in the background.

Even the religious faith of a country, or at least a faith like that of Italy, is not the same for all ranks. Its machinery, if the word be allowable, is common to all, and so are its essential peculiarities ; but there is little more that belongs to the whole nation. The leading facts of the modern history of religion are those which alone will be here regarded as belonging to the mass.

The character and more remarkable customs of the great body of the people will next form the chief subject of inquiry. We can draw no portrait ; we can but sketch a few features ; and those which have been selected are the most prominent rather than the most favourable. The statistics of the lower orders ; the peculiarities which, with or without the consent of the church, religion assumes for them ; the vices with which they are oftenest charged ; the favourite amusements which occupy their leisure ;—these are the points on which it

is here attempted to convey some information. The picture which results from the combination of these elements, will hardly do justice to so fine a race as the lower Italians, especially the peasantry ; for their good qualities afford few incidents, while the crimes of some among them would fill volumes.

Some features of society in the upper ranks will conclude the sketch :—their education and mode of life ; their religious observances, and their morality ; the chief amusements of their leisure, and those occupations which deserve a better name than amusement. On all these points the following pages will be found rather to suggest inquiry than to answer it ; and the reasons for this reserve are best known to those, who have most anxiously attempted to investigate the state of society among the higher classes in Italy.

THE RELIGION OF ITALY.

Catholicism and Dissent.

The religion of the country is the Roman Catholic ; and the toleration of other creeds, though its amount differs in different states, is in all of them except the Austrian a connivance rather than any thing more. The only considerable bodies of dissenters are the Jews and the Vaudois.

It thus costs the governments little to abstain from positive measures against heretics ; and the individuals who in several of the states suffer from disqualifications annexed to their religion, are neither numerous nor important enough to venture on open complaint. Towards mercantile people, many of whom belong to other nations, there is in practice a general sufferance, extending even to the Jews, who, however, in most towns are compelled to live in a separate ward, and in one or two states cannot acquire a legal domicile on any terms. To foreign visitors, besides the usual permission of courtesy for the private chapels of ambassadors, a prudent indulgence has been shown even in the Papal States,

where the exclusiveness is theoretically absolute, and in the Two Sicilies, whose concordat of 1818 declared that the Roman Catholic religion should be the only religion in the kingdom. In Rome the English were allowed by Pius VII. to fit up a large room just outside the walls, as a chapel of their national church. In Naples also they were permitted to erect an edifice for the same purpose, although difficulties have lately arisen as to this point, caused chiefly by disputes of another kind.

In the Austrian States, and in these alone, the toleration is regulated by enactments specific and long-established. The Greek church, the Confession of Augsburg, the Reformed Confession of Geneva, and the Jewish faith, are the four divisions in which all recognised dissenters are classed by Joseph's Toleration-Edict. To no members of these communions do any disqualifications attach ; nor, though strictly subjected to the civil power, are they in the slightest degree under the control of the Romish clergy. But the number of non-Catholics in Austrian Italy is too small to demand more minute notice of the very interesting questions connected with this subject.

We must now retrace our steps to the point at which, in 1500, we left the church in Italy.

The dissent which we saw arising during the middle ages had come to a head soon after the Reformation in Germany ; and for a short time the papacy was besieged in its own citadel. The attacks of Luther and Melancthon quickly awakened curiosity in the south. Many of the most learned ecclesiastics, abhorring the corruptions of the clergy, hoped that the fear of Protestantism would effect a reform in discipline without touching the Catholic tenets ; and this class was headed by an association in Rome, calling itself the Oratory of Divine Love, and numbering among its members Sadolet and Contarini, who afterwards rose to be cardinals, with the austere Caraffa, who became Paul IV. Some of these men, however, especially in their views as to the

doctrine of justification, came very near at one time to another section of inquirers, who, animated by a bolder spirit, exposed unscriptural errors in the creed of the Romish church, and were ready either to enforce a change in its articles or to retire from its pale. Not only in private society, but in the sermons of many ecclesiastics, both parochial and regular, tenets were promulgated, which Clement VII. found it necessary to denounce as contrary to the faith. No active persecution was yet raised, except against the Vaudois, who after the shameful crusade of 1488 were never quite free from annoyance. Meanwhile the reformed opinions gained, in most of the great towns, numerous adherents from all ranks both of the laity and the clergy. The Huguenot Duchess Renée of Ferrara was their chief protector in the north ; and the jealousy which the Venetians always entertained towards the popes did the cause good service in their city, where there were Lutherans before 1530. The scholars of Bologna began to examine the new doctrines about three years later ; and in Lucca there were more Protestants than in any other town of Italy. The attempt of the less daring spirits to mediate between the two antagonist principles failed signally ; and few of the more eminent among the Italian churchmen had courage to pursue the path upon which they had entered. Some, like Sadolet, shrunk back into literary employment ; others like Contarini, expiated their moderation by temporary disgrace ; and many, headed by Caraffa, became zealots for the papal cause. But the decisive breach with the German church was soon followed, within the Alps, by the preaching of two distinguished ecclesiastics, who, previously inclined to the new doctrines, were confirmed in them at Naples by the celebrated Spaniard Juan Valdez, secretary of the governor Don Pedro de Toledo. The first and most famous was Bernardino Ochino, a Siennese, who had taken the Capuchin cowl, and been made General of his order. The second was Pietro Martire Vermigli of Florence, an Augustinian canon-regular, who was a long time prior of San Frediano in Lucca.

In the year 1542 both of these men escaped into Switzerland, but many others were imprisoned.*

The Roman Catholic church now evidently wanted an engine for the suppression of Protestantism. The Dominicans, as Inquisitors of the faith, were only servants of the several bishops : the plan was without unity and therefore weak. On the other hand, the Spanish Inquisition, a royal court as dangerous to the papal prerogatives as to heretical dissent, had been resisted by the pontiffs, and with good reason. Caraffa accordingly planned an Italian Inquisition, which, under the name of the Congregation of the Holy Office, was approved by Paul III. in 1543. The bull gave to six cardinals a commission as Inquisitors-general of the Faith, with power to incarcereate and try heretics, to deliver them over to the secular arm for punishment, and to appoint local tribunals with similar prerogatives. The Venetians alone, of all the Italian states, resisted the introduction of this new court, and never admitted it except in a modified form. The Papal Inquisition, it is true, shunned the parade of punishment which was so terrific in Spain ; it never attempted to organize so diabolical a system of process ; and it cannot be asserted to have been guilty of the same amount of reckless inhumanity, because it durst not treat Italians as the Spaniards used Jews or Moors, and because it did not, like the Inquisition at Madrid, assume as part of its duty the extortion of treasure for the use of the government. But it performed its work unsparingly ; and roused a spirit of persecution which raged till the end of the sixteenth century. Many escaped beyond the Alps ; and among these emigrants were reckoned before 1559 as many as 800, of whom a large proportion were men of letters, such as the famous Pier Paolo Vergerio, bishop of Capo D'Istria, and the elder Socinus (Lelio Soccini), a native of Siena. Very many others were executed, and we find in the catalogue several

* Ranke, *Die Römischen Päpste*, vol. i. 1838. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy; 1827.

names of much eminence for learning and genius. At Rome Julius III. burned a number of Protestants ; and Paul IV., from the first moment of his reign, never allowed the engine he had invented to cease its operations. At his death the populace, irritated by his severities towards themselves, burned the buildings of the Inquisition and set loose the prisoners, among whom were John Craig, one of the Scottish Reformers, and Dr Thomas Wilson, the author of the Elizabethan “Art of Retorike.” Of heretics executed at Rome, one of the best known was the learned Florentine, Pietro Carnesecchi, the secretary of Clement VII., and the friend of Cosmo the first grand duke, who added one more leaf to his laurels by surrendering him to Pius V. Penances for years, or service in the galleys for life, were frequent throughout this century ; and in one of its latest years two heretics were burnt alive in Rome, a Silesian and an Englishman.

Before the end of that age, the Protestant religion may, except in the Piedmontese valleys, be considered to have been extirpated in Italy. Any heresies of the seventeenth century were chiefly the secret opinions of individuals ; we hear of few proceedings against errors in faith, and of no capital punishments. In the eighteenth century public opinion was left much to its own course, with an occasional uplifting of the arm of the church to remind the people of its vigour. In the Papal State, but not elsewhere, the Inquisition has been re-established since the restoration. It superintends the conduct of the clergy, and has issued one or two foolish proclamations against heresies ; but there its activity seems to have ended.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the church of Rome and its Italian princes had deeply disgraced themselves by their conduct to the unhappy Vandois. The persecution in the Piedmontese valleys having recommenced with military force in 1535, the resolution of the people procured an edict of toleration, which however was soon broken ; and in 1571 the

Waldenses swore a solemn league for their own protection. They had recently received a terrible warning in Lower Italy, where, as we have seen, some of their colonies occupied seven villages of Calabria from the fourteenth century. These settlers, amounting to about four thousand, were first visited by monks, who endeavoured to convert them; and, when they would not recant, they were next attacked by the troops. Many were killed, especially in the resistance made by the people of La Guardia; the inhabitants of San Xysto were hunted in the forests like beasts; the prisoners of these towns, of Montalto, and the other villages, were inhumanly tortured; a hundred at least were afterwards executed; and the whole colony was scattered. The seventeenth century opened with a persecution of the Vaudois in Saluzzo, which extended over all the valleys. In 1655 the Duke of Savoy sent 15,000 men against them; but, after severe suffering, the mountaineers were saved from destruction by the interposition of the Swiss and Oliver Cromwell. In 1686 an edict of the duke proclaimed the extermination of the heretics; full 10,000 were made prisoners, of whom more than half died in prison. Many emigrated to Switzerland; and a few years later, 900 of the exiles, headed by Henri Arnaud, made their famous attempt to repossess themselves of their valleys. An accommodation being effected, by a new mediation on the part of England and other foreign powers, the emigrants were allowed to return home. Our government guaranteed to the Duke of Savoy some of his acquisitions in the Milanese; and, in requital, the duke pledged himself to leave the Vaudois unmolested. The promise was partially kept during the eighteenth century; and the Vaudois, still poor, and still Protestants, have their 15 parishes, their scantily-paid curates, called Barbets, their 15 parish schools, and their 112 hamlet schools, which impart a narrow education to 4500 children. A Latin seminary at La Torre, meagrely endowed, has about 24 scholars; and a college, opened in 1831, chiefly by subscriptions from Great Britain, with one professor and ten

students, was at first suppressed by the government, but has been reopened by the present king, and is believed still to exist, though with insufficient means.

While the Romish Church in Italy was thus, for two centuries, overthrowing her assailants on the frontier, she did not altogether neglect to strengthen her fortifications within. New monastic rules were established, and the old communities were subjected to repeated reforms. The sixteenth century produced several very active orders. The Franciscans received two new branches; the first of which was that of the Capuchins, in 1525, whose leader, a friar of Urbino, named Mattia de' Bassi, professed to restore all the austereities of the founder, and named his order from the peaked cowl, asserted to have been the shape of that worn by the saint. A miracle, attested by the reigning pope, approved the rule of the new brethren. The second reform was that of the Barefooted fraternity of Spain, who, in Italy, are named Reformed Franciscans. A new class of monastic clergy was introduced, called Regular Clerks, of whom there were speedily several orders. Two of these were instituted for educating poor children, a task which both still perform. They were the Fathers Somaschi, and the Dottrinarii, or Fathers of the Christian Doctrine. Two others, the Congregation of the Jesuits, and that of the Oratory, were mainly designed as nurseries for learned churchmen.

The seventeenth century gave birth to several monastic reforms, among which, however, the Italian ones were unimportant. The most valuable ecclesiastical invention of that age was the Congregation De Propaganda Fide, instituted at Rome in 1622, and richly endowed, for the purpose of propagating the Catholic faith in foreign countries. For that end it undertook the tasks of educating young foreigners as missionaries, of maintaining them abroad, of facilitating the study of foreign tongues, especially those of unconverted lands, and of circulating religious books among heathen nations in their own languages. Its foreign missionaries have been the great rivals of the Jesuits; and some of its literary

labours have been among the most creditable of those performed by the Roman Catholic church. Education at home was provided by two humbler establishments, in addition to the older ones ;—the Priests of the Missions, and the Scolopj or Brethren of the Pious Schools.

For the late vicissitudes of the Latin church in the several states of Italy, and for its present statistics, so far as these are accessible, the historical and statistical chapters of this volume may be consulted. The lower orders, in most provinces, seem to prefer the mendicant friars to the parochial clergy. The Capuchins, who are chiefly men of mean birth, are especially active in instructing and courting the peasantry ; and, consequently, they are in high favour, and possess great influence. Indeed, the continual rounds performed by the lay-brothers of that order, and by those of the later reformed Franciscans, give these societies an immediate access to the people, not possessed by the Dominicans and other friars who do not go abroad to beg.

Among the mendicant fraternities no one will assert that there is much diffusion of learning ; but there is more among the endowed monks, and still more among the Regular Clerks. The scholarship of some of the superior secular clergy probably stands higher than that of most of the regular ecclesiastics ; although the parish priests in the country are, for the most part, very insufficiently educated. It is not easy, however, for foreigners and Protestants, fairly to estimate the absolute amount of the cultivation possessed by either class. No one who has spent much time in Italy can have failed to meet both with priests and monks possessing much ability and high attainments ; and no one who is acquainted with the history of literature and science, in whatever century he chooses to study it, from the fifteenth till now, will venture to deny that, in this respect, the Italian church occupies a creditable place among the ecclesiastical establishments of Europe. But this erudition has always been at once partial and scholastic ; and there is still

little reason to believe either that it is general, or that the education of the priesthood at large is at all effectually directed towards practical branches of knowledge. We must not, indeed, judge of the clergy as a body from the mendicant orders, even from their priests, and still less from their lay-brethren, who are merely an upper class of servants: we must not judge of them from such vagabonds as the so-called Hermits, of whom there are several specimens among the mountains near Rome; and it would scarcely be safe to judge of them from the general condition of the clergy in the Papal dominions, where the government has evidently restored the church without providing for its respectability, either by funds or education. But, after deducting all such unfavourable cases, we shall, on the whole, do the Italian ecclesiastics no injustice, if we pronounce them inferior in mental acquirements both to the Catholic priests of Germany, and to the clergy of most Protestant countries.

Their morality is a subject yet more delicate: but in regard to it their shortcomings have been as much exaggerated as their deficiencies in knowledge. As we want facts for forming a fair opinion, one observation on the matter may suffice. In Italy there are about 300,000 persons of both sexes, condemned to celibacy, and cut off from all permanent connexion with domestic life. That, under so vicious a system, all should be proof against avarice, ambition, or sensual passions, is impossible; the Italians themselves admit that some of their clergy yield to temptation; but we should certainly go too far if we were to believe that corruption is general. Open immorality nowhere exists; and the ecclesiastics of Rome, who, whether deservedly or not, bear the worst character, are models of outward decorum.

The Aspect of Catholicism in Italy.

The religion of the Italians presents itself to their eyes at every step, and in innumerable shapes. Some of its most striking memorials accompany us from one

end of the peninsula to the other. The most common are those shrines which we see at once on descending from the Alps, and which abound both in the country and in the streets of the towns. They are usually little chapels, with niches containing pictures or images of the Virgin, the Holy Family, or the Souls in Purgatory.* Scarcely less frequent are large crucifixes, round the tops of which are tied the apparatus of suffering,—the sponge, the spear, the nails, the crown of thorns. Not so numerous are the *Viae Crucis*, which are rows of niched chapels, each containing a painted scene from the Passion of Our Lord. The custom of having the churches continually open, their confessionals, and their want of pews, will only strike, as peculiar, one who comes from Protestant countries ; but if the traveller arrives from France, he will find the attendance in the churches much more numerous than there ; the labourers repairing to them in the morning, the upper ranks in the towns towards mid-day, and again a few at the approach of evening. At half an hour after sunset, the church-bells of the towns are rung for the Ave-Maria ; the angelic salutation passes from mouth to mouth ; the prayer is said ; and, in Rome, the nightly hymn is sung beneath the shrines of the Madonna. The picturesque figures of the monks and friars are as peculiar as the oratories and churches ; and, whether the traveller comes from France or from Austria, the frequency of their appearance is equally new to him. If he enters Lombardy first, he must cross the Po before encountering

* “ The road here divided into two lanes. The branch to the right climbed the woody hill, and was the way to the curate’s house ; the branch to the left descended into the valley, to the edge of a torrent. The inner walls of the two lanes, instead of joining at the corner, ended in a little chapel, in which were painted certain figures, long, twining, terminating in points. These figures, in the mind of the artist, and to the eyes of the peasants, signified flames ; and, alternating with the flames, were certain other figures, quite indescribable, which signified souls in purgatory. Souls and flames were of a brick colour, on a coarse gray ground, with the plaster a little peeled off here and there.”—Manzoni : *I Promessi Sposi* : capit. I.

the lay-brothers on their begging excursions ; but if he passes through Savoy, the monkish cowl and gown will be familiar to him before he has entered Piedmont, and he will not be allowed again to forget them. In the hostelry or in the street he may also be approached by a silent mumming figure, wrapped in a long linen gown or sack, with his head and face covered, except the eyes, by a peaked cowl, and holding in his hand a box for charitable offerings. This figure is a member of one of the Penitential Confraternities ; and these associations, much as they have degenerated from their ancient zeal and exertion, are still a characteristic feature of religion in Italy.

In Rome there are scarcely any laymen, of whatever rank, and in other towns very few, who are not members of such brotherhoods. The purpose of all is to unite religious observances with some sort of good offices to others. Almost every parish, and every craft of artisans, has its own confraternity, with its chapel (perhaps its church), its festivals and rites, its charitable duties, and its uniform. The dresses vary chiefly in colour, the most common being the white and blue, though some of the black associations are the most celebrated. Such societies, often uniting all ranks together, are almost innumerable ; and a few of those in the papal city must suffice as examples. One of the oldest is the white brotherhood or the Gonfalone or Standard, whose rules were drawn out by Saint Buonaventura in 1264. It gives portions to poor girls, keeps a physician for sick brethren, and buries them at the common expense. No brotherhood is more singular, and none is said to be still so respectably conducted, as the gray brotherhood Del Sacro Cuore di Gesù, called also that of the Sacconi, from its uniform, a gown of coarse canvass. Its members, all of whom are men of station, go every Friday barefoot, begging from door to door for needy families. If, in his rounds, a Saccone hears a quarrel or an oath, it is a part of his office to rush between the disputants, and kneel down before them with outstretched arms in silent

supplication. The rule of this corporation forbids it to acquire property ; but it has in Rome a chapel in the old church of San Teodoro. Among the Black Penitents the most considerable is the fraternity of the Misericordia, founded in 1488 as an offshoot of the institution bearing the same name in Florence. It is also called the Company of San Giovanni Decollato, from the name of its Roman church in the ancient Velabrum. When a criminal is to be executed, the courts send notice to this body the day before ; four of the brethren remain with the convict all night ; their priest confesses him, and the brethren march with him to the scaffold, bearing torches and a cross covered with black crape, and singing the seven penitential psalms. They afterwards say masses for the departed soul, and, removing the corpse, bury it in a cemetery attached to their church. The confraternity Della Carità verso I Carcerati, instituted in 1578, furnishes to debtors and criminals not only charity but the means of procuring legal assistance. Many brotherhoods are designed to commemorate miracles, to honour wonder-working images, to take the sacrament in common at fixed times, or to say masses for the souls in purgatory.

The ceremonies of the church are incessant. Rome is, as might be expected, the head-quarters of the Catholic rites ; and as the picture it presents is simply the combination of features which occur in greater or less fulness elsewhere, some particulars of the observances in that city may suffice for all. The Roman Calendar exhibits for the devout a festival or fast on every day of the year ; and, besides these voluntary holidays or "feste di divozione," there are obligatory ones or "feste di precetto," amounting annually to about seventy, besides Sundays. The Consecrated Host, likewise, is continually exposed on one or another of the altars, passing to a new shrine after an interval which extends nominally to forty hours ; and these "Quaranta Ore" are for some churches the most splendid festivals.

The annual cycle of observances in Rome begins with
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Advent, which is followed by the solemnities of Christmas week, the most pompous ceremonies of the year, except those of Easter. On the feast of the Nativity the Pope performs high mass in Saint Peters ; and in the course of the preceding night, Santa Maria Maggiore, which boasts of possessing the Cradle of the Lord, has ushered in the day by a striking procession and mass in honour of the relic. The favourite spectacle of Christmas week is the “Presepio,” a group in waxwork, of figures and scenery, representing the Saviour in the Manger, with Joseph, the Angels, the Virgin, the Shepherds, the Three Kings of the East, and sometimes the Emperor Augustus, with the Cumæan Sibyl. The Observantine Franciscans in Ara Celi, and their brethren of the Reform in the church of San Francesco in the Trastevere, are peculiarly skilful in this exhibition. Epiphany, as in England, is the festival of the children, who in Italy expect at that season a visit from the fairy Beffana, with gifts for the good and marks of anger for the bad. A stocking hung at the child’s bedside receives, during the night, the tokens of the unseen visiter. A very curious church-ceremony of the same week is the celebration of mass at the Propaganda, according to the rites, and in the language, of all the countries in communion with Rome. The next great festival in January, that of Sant’ Antonio, at his church beside Santa Maria Maggiore, is a scene of buffoonery scarcely disguised. The priests bless, in the name of the saint, the horses and cattle of the whole district, which are brought to the staircase to receive the benediction and holy water. The feast of Saint Agnes without the walls, in the same month, is one of the most picturesque sights in Rome. An officiating bishop blesses two lambs, from whose wool are made the robes of the archbishops ; and the peasantry of the whole province, especially the females, flock to this exhibition in their gayest dresses. The mirth and masking of the Carnival week next usher in the forty days of Lent, during which public amusements and society are suspended, and church ceremonies and oratorios take their place.

This is the favourite occasion for exhibiting celebrated relics. The Passion Week succeeds, commencing with the distribution of the Blessed Palms by the pope on Palm Sunday, and embracing a constant round of imposing ceremonies. The most interesting portions are the vocal music, especially Allegri's *Miserere*, in the Sistine chapel ; the washing of the thirteen pilgrims' feet by his holiness in the Sala Ducale of the Vatican ; the symbolical burial of the sacrament beneath the high altar of every church in the city ; the sermons on Good Friday, during Our Saviour's Three Hours of Agony, which have for their texts the seven sentences spoken by him on the cross ; the papal benediction bestowed on the people from the outer balcony of Saint Peters ; and the illumination which in some years takes place in that cathedral, with fireworks on the summit of the Castel Sant' Angelo.* The next great festivals, celebrated in May, are the octaves of Ascension-Week and Corpus Christi. In the former the papal benediction is repeated ; and in the latter the pope, bearing the Sacrament, is carried in a splendid procession round the piazza of Saint Peter within Bernini's colonnade. The seventh week after Trinity is spent by the Brotherhoods in pilgrimages to the churches of the city and its neighbourhood. The last quarter of the year offers no ceremonies very remarkable, till we reach the octave of All-Saints, during which, throughout Italy, the sacred edifices are hung with mourning inside, and their principal fronts are covered with black cloths, having white deaths'-heads and cross-bones painted on them. Every afternoon of the week a procession passes through the Colosseum, pausing to pray at each of the shrines, which form a *Via Crucis* round the arena.

* The best popular description of the Holy Week is in Miss Waldie's *Rome in the Nineteenth Century* : Letters 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77. The ceremonies are the subject of one of Cancellieri's curious antiquarian volumes : *Descrizione delle Funzioni della Settimana Santa nella Capella Pontificia* ; Roma, 1818.

SECULAR DIVISIONS OF THE ITALIANS.

When we attempt to analyze the population of Italy, we find it difficult to apply the usual division into aristocracy, middle class, and people. The great vice of society in that country is now, as it was in the old imperial times, that the intermediate rank scarcely exists. Its numerical proportion to the whole population must be very small ; and the comparative amount of its influence on society is much less.

Of the two divisions of labour directly productive, agriculture furnishes far fewest members to the middle class. Indeed there scarcely exist any such among the rural population, unless in Lombardy. The manufacturing and trading order in the towns contains a greater number who rise above the mass of the people ; but here also, while a few persons border on the upper ranks, the great body, sinking under manifold discouragements, must be considered as a mere populace. The artisans, the few manufacturers, and the retail-traders, are generally poor ; and the exceptions which occur in a few districts or towns are not numerous enough to be widely influential.

It is nearly as difficult, on the other hand, to find a genuine aristocracy. Nobles there are in abundance ; but their nobility is valid only at court and in fashionable society. It gives them nowhere, except in Piedmont and Modena, the smallest public privileges, or the most minute pecuniary advantage. The Italian count, marquis, duke, or prince, is politically as much a cipher as his own valet.

If, however, a classification must be sought, we may divide the whole lay-population into three orders. The first and lowest will contain the mass of the husbandmen in the country, and of the handicraftsmen and petty traders in the towns. The second order, which is not so properly a middle and separate rank, as one sharing its members between the two which stand on both sides of it, will include a very few agriculturists, some traders

and manufacturers, the professional men, servants of the government, and officers of the army. The third and highest class will have for its basis the inactive capitalists, who are almost all proprietors of land, but have in their number quite as many commoners as nobles.

THE PEOPLE IN ITALY.

Their Statistical Position.

The first question to be asked is, how the people gain their bread. We encounter large numbers who are seldom able to earn it by any industry of their own, and are most insufficiently maintained by charity either public or private. Indolence, in the southern parts of Italy at least, may add to the misery of the lower classes ; but other causes, not so easily discoverable, lie at the root of the mischief. Pauperism prevails grievously in the towns ; because there the population cannot find any suitable employment in manufactures, and have neither opportunity nor inclination to betake themselves to agriculture. It prevails with equal severity, though we see it less, in the country, where the peasantry, with few exceptions, have no capital and no savings, and are reduced to famine by a bad harvest. In the spring of 1837, the bakers' boys in Rome were guarded by police-soldiers as they passed along the streets with their bread. Every public walk, the doors of every frequented church, are besieged by crowds of beggars, of whom, though many may be idlers or impostors, a large majority are wretched creatures really dying of hunger. There are indeed charitable societies which spend large sums every year ; there are also hospitals, amongst which those of Milan, Genoa, Rome, and Naples, are the most famous. But all these remedies are local and inadequate ; the governments do little or nothing for the poor ; they do not even compel them to hide their misery ; and the rags and sores and hunger of paupers, pressing themselves on our attention by hundreds in every town and village from Susa to Reggio,

may help us to a part of our answer when we are next asked, why the lower Italians are discontented, and, as it is alleged, addicted to highway robberies.

The position of those engaged in agriculture is quite unlike any thing we see at home. It is also particularly important, because they are the only actively productive class in Italy, and make up numerically a very large part of its population, amounting, according to the estimates both of this century and the last, to four-fifths of the whole. In a few of the irrigated plains of Lombardy, the small dairy-farms are let on fixed money-rents; the extensive grazing-farms of the Maremme and the hill-pasturages of the Apennines are occupied in the same way; and single estates or even districts may be found, in which prevail fixed rents, paid in money, or partly in produce. But these cases are exceptions, and rare ones. The general system puts the Italian agriculturists into the position of the French *Métayers*, the ancient *Coloni partiarii*, and the *Medietarii* of the dark and middle ages. This arrangement has never been entirely discontinued since the days of Cato the Censor; and in many deeds of the ninth century we see it completely matured, with few differences from the modern plan, except that in the early leases there is usually a fixed term, commonly twenty-nine years, and that the proportional payments are in most cases far less than in modern times. The latter peculiarity, however, may have been caused by the stipulation that the tenant was to find his own stock and tools, which now is not commonly the case.* According to the general principle (which, however, suffers many incidental modifications), the landlord furnishes not only the ground, but the cattle and implements, and receives annually from the tenant a fixed proportion of the fruits. In the majority of cases his share is as high

* Ducange, *Glossarium, ad voc. "Medietarius."*—Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati*, 6 tom. 4to, 1801-4; tom. i. p. 91 (A. D. 889); p. 112 (A. D. 918); p. 116 (A. D. 919); tom. ii. p. 128 (A. D. 1148.)

as a half of the grain crops, and it seems nowhere to fall lower than a fourth part. Other kinds of produce pay different proportions. By law the *Coloni* are usually tenants at will ; but removal is as rare as it is in Ireland, under circumstances somewhat similar ; and the same family often possess their land during several generations. The farms held on these hard terms are in most states extremely small, indeed mere crofts,—in Lombardy scarcely ever amounting to two acres : the cottages are hovels, except in Tuscany, the Genoese Riviera, and some parts of Romagna and the Bolognese ; the peasants are scarcely in a better state than Irish labourers ; they have no savings, and can never improve their condition.

Experience has shown that this state of things is quite consistent both with industrious agriculture and with close population ; but it is as certainly very disadvantageous to the people both as to wealth and intellect, and very far from being favourable to their morals. The districts in which the peasantry live most comfortably, and are most intelligent, are those where the system is departed from, as in the irrigated provinces of Lombardy, or those others where the kind of culture subjects it to extensive modifications, as in the valleys of Tuscany. The peasantry of Lucca form an interesting exception to the rest of Italy. Most of them are small proprietors, like our departed bonnet-lairds in Scotland ; but the possessions seem to be subdivided to infinity among descendants, and the Lucchese peasants are said to be now generally impoverished. Their condition, however, has not yet been described by any close observer. From many of the mountain-districts among the Apennines, the peasantry, unable by any exertions to maintain their families, emigrate annually as labourers to the infected Maremme. We shall encounter these unfortunate persons again, when we examine agriculture systematically.

It is not easy to say where the populace of the towns may be seen to the greatest advantage ; but their condition is observed most characteristically in Naples. The

lazzaroni of that metropolis have already been incidentally described. They scarcely ever wear any other clothing than a shirt and a pair of linen trousers ; some of them, though fewer than formerly, have no fixed dwelling, and spend the nights of summer in porches or vaults ; and, since one or two of the smallest copper coins will procure for an errand-boy or idler enough of maccaroni or bread and fruit for a day's provision, he is contented when he has gained the pittance, and devotes the rest of his time to amusement, politics, or religion. The French government, and the many late vicissitudes in the city, appear to have greatly weakened the cohesion of this wild populace ; though the numbers who occupy the corresponding position are probably not at all diminished, and the fierce spirit never slumbers for more than a few years. We have surveyed the atrocities which they committed in 1799 ; but those excesses seem, like an eruption of the neighbouring mountain, to have for a time exhausted their force. In the subsequent revolutions, their conduct was infinitely less outrageous ; though, as lately as 1815, just after Murat's defeat, they planned a general plunder of the houses, from which they were kept back by the national guard till the Austrians came up. Though the lazzaroni continue dangerous, and are charged with dishonesty as well as ferocity, they have generous points of feeling, and even a kind of intermittent integrity ; and their singularities well repay any observation which may be cautiously bestowed on them. The licentiousness with which Naples is justly reproached does not descend so low.

Both in the towns and in the country, the people, although in Middle and Lower Italy they are really and anxiously industrious, are lamentably deficient in economy. In the rural population the fault proceeds from slovenly wastefulness and want of system rather than from extravagance, with which, except (in some quarters) as to the decoration of the women, they are scarcely at all chargeable. This kind of profuseness is most observable in Tuscany, where a female peasant at her marriage often

receives ornaments in gold and precious stones, worth twenty pounds or more. These, however, remain in the family ; and the hard-working hinds might be allowed this little vanity, if they could be taught more fore-thought in other matters. In the towns the populace are positively and ruinously extravagant ; and their two great temptations are the festivals and the lotteries.

Their profusion may be seen in Florence at the favourite spectacles of Saint John's Day, or still more clearly at Rome, in October, during the gala-days of the vintage. The very poorest of the labouring classes, the washer-women or errand-porters (though the vice is greatest among the females) will save a trifle weekly throughout the whole year, that they may spend it all in hiring a coach to drive through the streets to the Monte Testaccio ; and upon the same occasion those a little higher in the scale hire jewels and men-servants in livery. But the lottery is a thousand times more fatal, and its venom infects every town in Italy. Each government has its lottery, the tickets for each are sold in all the other states, and a drawing takes place rather oftener than once a fortnight. Worst of all, the tickets are infinitesimally divisible, and a chance may be purchased for less than sixpence. The poorest of the poor are those who gamble most eagerly ; a daylabourer withholds regularly a portion of his earnings from his family, to spend it on his weekly hazard at an office ; and the starving beggar, if he receives an alms which will purchase two meals, often goes without one of them, that he too may have a chance of becoming rich. The system is complicated and extremely disadvantageous to the speculators. They determine on the numbers they are to play, by dreams, or by rules like those of the ancient auspices, which are explained in little almanacs. The papal government, which was the last to establish a lottery of its own, attempts to compound with heaven by devoting the proceeds to the support of some of its paupers. The provincial Savings Banks of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, first established in 1823, had, at the close of 1836, deposits amounting to full £270,000.

A similar establishment, also, opened at Florence in 1829, with six local branches, had at the credit of the depositors, in January of the same year, a sum of £92,000.*

The Religion of the People.

The populace in Naples present the most decided example of that superstitious warmth which, mixed with very different emotions, is still the prevailing religious temper of the Italian peasantry. The Lazzarone or the Calabrese will reproach his saints, and even curse them or break their images; but he acknowledges his guilt with bitter remorse at his next confession, and endeavours to make amends for it by penances, by voluntary pilgrimages to churches, and by wearing additional amulets. With these men, and even elsewhere, a deep spirit of intolerance mixes with other religious feelings: it is, however, a dormant passion, fierce and furious indeed when excited, but consistent at other times with a careless good-will towards heretics. Throughout all Italy, the name "Christian" is, in the mouths of the people, synonymous with "Catholic;" and the notions which the peasants entertain as to the state of religion in Protestant countries are ludicrously distorted.

The popular belief in miracles often puts the clergy to serious inconvenience. In Rome, within the last few years, several images of the Virgin have rolled their eyes, shed tears, or uttered an audible complaint of their want of dresses or lamps. A crowd is gathered in an instant by the announcement of any such incident; and, in several cases, where the affair has originated among the people themselves, and without previous communication with the higher ecclesiastics, the priests of the miraculous church have been severely punished. The general thirst for wonders must, however, be allayed: the Neapolitans have their annual liquefaction of the blood of Saint Januarius, over which they never tire of marvelling;

* English Board of Trade Papers, Part VI. published 1838.
Dr Bowring's Report on Italian Statistics.

and in Rome a stray miracle is occasionally vouched, and allowed to enrich a church or an altar. Not very long ago, the Franciscans of Ara Celi, on the Capitol, were in disgrace for having allowed a Madonna to roll her eyes ; but about the same time, the corresponding figure in the Pantheon (whose keepers had probably foreseen her intentions and made them known in the proper quarter), became one of the most popular images in the city, by screaming for oil to feed her lamps, and following up this demonstration by the cures of a few sick persons, with other exhibitions. Perhaps the friars of Ara Celi had been suspected of aiming at a monopoly ; for they possess an authorized image of the Infant Saviour, one of the most famous in Rome, which they tell us was cut by a pious lay-brother of their order in Jerusalem from the branch of a tree that grew on the Mount of Olives, and, on his prayer, was, while he slept, miraculously finished into a perfect likeness. When the priests will not make miracles, the people discover some for themselves. In the hot summer of 1820, the woods near Terracina took fire ; and, after the flames had been quenched, there were found, here and there in the midst of the burned forests, solitary trees and one or two charcoal-burners' huts, standing on eminences unscathed. The peasants believed unhesitatingly that the escape of those spots was miraculous ; they erected crosses on the mounds, and hung them with votive offerings.

The mere sufferance of such pious frauds, or popular errors, is a gross iniquity in the church ; and their formal recognition in those canonizations which occasionally take place in Rome, is still worse. But the miracles, like other evils, admit of being turned, and often are turned, to practical good. It would not be easy by argument to make the peasants submit to so painful an operation as the actual cautery for the bite of a mad dog ; yet the priests of Volterra contrived to introduce the operation long ago. They procured a nail of the true cross, which cured all such hurts by its simple application, accompanied with prayers ; but it was

necessary, and the legend explained the reason of it, that the relic should be redhot when it touched the wounded part. The penances may, in skilful hands, be still more easily turned to account. A recent Milanese periodical tells a story of a parish-priest in the Neapolitan province of Molise, who, in last century, imposed on his penitents the task of planting and rearing vines, olives, or other fruit-trees, more or fewer according to the heinousness of the sin. The parishioners obeyed ; and the parish, then a dry and bare district, has ever since bloomed like a garden.

Since the church fosters, or at any rate does not suppress, superstitions of its own, it cannot be surprised that errors of the same sort should take root without its authority. It has, however, been remarked with great truth, that the popular imagination in Italy seldom or never dives into those regions of horror, which form the spectral world of the northern nations. The superstitious fictions of the people are airy, fanciful, half-sportive, like the supernatural machinery of their national poets ; with no more of the transalpine character than that which indicates their common origin. Their ghost, for example, is a mad sprite (*Spirito Folletto*), who seems to have in his mischief more playfulness than malignity. In Rome, on the road which, between the walls of vineyards, leads from Santa Maria Maggiore to Saint John Lateran, there used to stand a house which had been uninhabited for years, because, as it was said, the ghost of a Capuchin walked through it every night, chanting the mass and ringing his bell.

The Italian fairies appear to be few. The Fata Morgana is a mermaid, dwelling in the depths of the Straits of Messina, into which she lures young men, and sometimes shows her palaces above the waves. The Sibyl is a fairy inhabiting caverns in the heart of the high mountain near Norcia, which bears her name. The Tuscan beings of the same race have their chief residence in the mountain of Fiesole, among whose vaults the children point out the entrances to fairyland ; and they have also,

between Florence and Pisa, a huge rock rising like a square tower, which is called the Masso delle Fate. The witches are more like our own than any other supernatural beings of the country. They brew love-drinks, which are especially dreaded in Lower Italy ; they raise storms ; make robbers bullet-proof ; and bring pining distempers upon infants. In the south, the witchsab-baths are believed to be held around the Sacred Walnut-tree of Benevento, situated no one knows where : in Rome the hags are supposed to congregate among the ruins of the Forum, their high festival being Mid-summer-Night, on which, anointing themselves with a magic salve, they are transformed into black cats.

In some quarters the peasants are great treasure-seekers, and believe that, during the many wars of their country, immense hoards have been buried in old castles and deserted towns. The Abruzzesi of Avezzano, on the mountain-lake of Celano, have such a tradition about the neighbouring ruins of Alba Fucentia. Charles of Anjou, say they, besieged Alba, then a prosperous city, and swore to destroy the inhabitants, who, thereupon, having dug an immensely deep well and thrown all their treasure into it, heaped the stones of many houses over the spot, set fire to the town, and perished in the flames. The peasants call this pit the Well of Saturn, and point out a particular pile of masonry which they suppose to cover it ; but they believe that it is guarded by spirits, and say (doubtless quite truly) that no one has ever come to good who searched for the gold. Stories such as this, which the people tell at the present day, have lingered among them for centuries, as have similar tales in the neighbourhood of Naples. The ancient Forum Vulcani is said to be haunted by spirits who shriek through the fiery caverns ; and beneath the volcanic hills magic wealth is hid, which the lazzaroni have sought in vain for ages.*

* "Here they dream of certain rings of gold, shining richly with carbuncles ; and they have been seen, but are guarded by spirits and goblins."—Sandys' Travels ; in 1610.

The Morality of the People.

The temper of the lower Italians, their customs, and their morality, present, even in the same persons, contradictions of the most curious kind. The impression which the hasty traveller receives is almost unavoidably unfavourable. In visiting the northern Lakes, he is surrounded by as mercenary a race as those who inhabit the other show-countries of Europe. From Lombardy to Calabria, if he travels with a display of wealth, he is passed from hand to hand through a series of postmasters, postboys, couriers, innkeepers, shopkeepers, and valets-de-place, who successively try which can cheat him most. Inclination or curiosity may unfortunately lead him into those scenes of debauchery, which, in Italy, are nowhere glaring except at Naples ; and if, on his way to the luxurious city, he happen to be robbed in the Pontine Marshes, his experience of low life is completed. And yet his harsh opinion of the people would be utterly unjust. If he were to reside long among them, and mix familiarly with the labouring classes, either in country or in town, allowing their character room to develop itself, he would be not unlikely to commit injustice the opposite way. That class of men who revenge their nation on foreigners by universal though petty spoliation, will not indeed improve much on farther acquaintance (although even their cheating is oddly limited by a few traditional rules) ; and the general character can scarcely be estimated fairly in any districts much frequented by travellers. But the observer will discover honesty and purity even in the towns ; in the country he will have difficulty in detecting any thing else ; and every where, when he has contrived to step within the line of separation, he will be met by a warmth of heart, an originality and independence of character, a picturesqueness of ideas, and, in several provinces, a marked fertility of wit, which will inspire him with true affection for the fallen nation, and make it no easy task for him to represent their faults clearly either to himself or others.

Against the Italians at large, three heavy accusations are brought : dissoluteness, revenge, and robbery. The first charge, if made against the rural population, we do not believe to be so far true as it is of the corresponding class in our own country ; and indeed nothing can be more alien than voluptuousness to the character of the Italian peasant. The populace of the larger towns cannot be acquitted ; but poverty is the most frequent incitement to vice. The accusation of a vindictive spirit is unfortunately better founded. The stories of murders, no doubt, reach us even at this day in a highly exaggerated shape ;* but all charges of the sort have something to rest on, and the present charge arises from the undeniably resentful temper of the Italians, and their want of every thing like fairness in fighting. The practice of assassination is not old in Italy ; perhaps it cannot be traced farther back than the enslavement of the republics ; and distrust in the ordinary administration of justice is a strong temptation to take revenge into one's own hands. Slaughter by bravoes for hire was well known under the Spaniards in the seventeenth century ; but it did not survive their dominion, and, if we except Venice, it scarcely extended beyond their provinces. Since that period assassinations have been executed for revenge, not for plunder. Leopold of Tuscany suppressed them by rigorous and equal justice, and by encouraging his subjects in a liking they still have for pugilism.† The Venetians had long before set him the example, in the regulations under which they had placed boxing-matches in their city ;‡ and in Rome, where private murder was most common, it was almost completely extirpated by the French. It is nowhere quite extinct at present, but it is becoming very rare, though the circumstances sometimes indicate ferocious premeditation. One point of honour is

* For example, a late traveller, one of our most sensible and observant ones, chooses to believe that in Rome there is committed, on an average, one murder every day.

† Rose's Letters from the North of Italy, 1819 ; vol. i. let. 23.

‡ See Grævius : Thesaurus Italiæ, tom. v. part 3, p. 368-370.

strictly observed: Although it is not dishonourable to steal on one's enemy and stab him, shooting him would be held base and cowardly. In Sardinia and Corsica, however, this scruple is not entertained ; and in those islands feuds, both personal and hereditary, seem still to rage with a violence not unlike that of former centuries. Yet, amidst all this fierceness, a rude heroism sometimes breaks through ; and the Corsican histories are especially rich in such incidents. In 1822, a young peasant of that island, convicted of a murder of which he was in fact innocent, died in obstinate silence, refusing to save himself by denouncing the real culprit. The crime had been committed by his own mother.

In modern times the habit of plunder has never been general either in Upper Italy or in Tuscany ; but the wars of the barons and petty princes every where trained the people to it. In the Papal dominions and the kingdom of Naples, misgovernment and suffering tempted them to remember their old lessons : and, for the last three hundred years, those two states have seldom been completely free from this cause of alarm. It was at its height during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The robbers were starving peasants, disbanded soldiers, or profligate and desperate nobles ; and their numbers amounted to thousands, who levied black-mail as unsparingly as the condottieri of the middle ages. In the pontificate of Sixtus V., there were three notorious bands. One in Calabria was headed by Mongone ; another, which ravaged the northern provinces of Naples, with the Campagna and mountains of Rome, followed the celebrated freebooter Marco Sciarra ; a third, the curse of Romagna, was led for twelve years by a Tuscan nobleman, Alfonso Piccolomini, duke of Montemarciano. In the Neapolitan provinces, during the seventeenth century, the public taxes were frequently seized on their way from the hands of the collectors ; while rich individuals, villages, and some large towns, were held to ransom. In the eighteenth century, the hordes were chiefly composed of peasants, who had either committed murder in quar-

rels, or been driven "into the country," as the people gently express it, by the privations of a hard season. In this predicament we find the robbers who figure in the favourite story-books :—Giuseppe Mastrilli of Terracina, who stabbed a rival ; Antonio di Santo, who fled to escape a feud ; Angiolo del Duca, whose tale assigns his outlawry to his generous interposition in protecting an orphan shepherd-boy against a cruel master ; and Pietro Mancino, who is related to have been the son of a physician, and to have slain a gentleman who attempted to seduce his sister.

During the French occupation, the Neapolitan brigands played the part which we have witnessed in reviewing the political history of the times ; and, after their suppression by Napoleon and his satellites on the mainland, and by the English in Sicily, they scarcely reappeared till the restoration. Then, however, the general distress of the country-people, the numbers of disbanded soldiers, and, perhaps, some political causes, gave birth to new bands as formidable as any that had shown themselves during the last century. Since the peace of 1814, there are numberless stories relating to the robbers, several of whom have acquired great celebrity. Almost all the tales most widely spread and most firmly believed by the Romans and Neapolitans themselves, have a romantic exaggeration, from which it is difficult to extricate the truth ; and the impotence, imprudence, and faithlessness which both governments have displayed towards the ruffians, are the least questionable facts of the history. The most famous of the leaders were Gaetano Vardarelli in Puglia, and Barbone and De' Cesari in the Abruzzo, Sabina, and the Campagna.

Vardarelli, an Abruzzese, who first served in Murat's army, and was afterwards by turns highwayman, soldier, deserter, and police-officer, gathered in 1815 a band of more than forty, which received its name from him. They were mounted on excellent horses, were disciplined regularly and severely, and scoured the country with amazing swiftness. They scarcely ever attacked

travellers ; and their captain not only paid his spies munificently, but bestowed liberal alms on the poorest peasants. Their usual plan was to surround one of the solitary homesteads of an Apulian farm, to carry off grain or cattle, and hold the tenant or the landlord's steward to ransom. The Neapolitan troops and the Austrians hunted them in vain ; and in 1817 the authorities subscribed a formal treaty with them, receiving them into the royal service as a guard for the provinces against other brigands, and stipulating high pay, that of Gaetano being equal to a colonel's. The government accused the Vardarelli of conniving at the depredations of other thieves ; and though the latest Neapolitan historian denies the charge, he admits that they suspected their new masters, and always refused to be reviewed anywhere except in the open country. Be that as it may, it was determined to destroy them. In March 1818, while they lay resting on the green of an Albanian village called Ururi, in the north of Puglia, they were fired on from the houses. The chiefs and several others were shot, and the principal agent in the massacre, a man whose sister the robbers had dishonoured, was said to have publicly washed his hands in the blood of the corpses. On the 29th of April, the discouraged remnant of the band submitted to be inspected in the square of Foggia, were surrounded by the troops, fired on, and several of them slain. Two escaped ; some were taken prisoners ; the rest blocked themselves up in a cellar, round the mouth of which the soldiers heaped straw, and set fire to it. The brigands did not wait to die by suffocation, but shot each other as they lay.

Among the robbers of the Abruzzi, Barbone was the Robin Hood of the country-people, the hero of a thousand romantic stories. His favourite haunt was the ancient Algidus, the eastern branch of the Alban Mount, from whose heights he swept down into the valleys, and more than once was recognised walking openly in the streets of Albano and Velletri. In November 1818 his horde attempted to carry off Prince Lucien Buonaparte

from his villa, the Rufinella, near Frascati, but by mistake seized his secretary, for whose ransom they extorted 6000 crowns. In the succeeding July they failed in a similar design on Baron Rumohr, at his seat between Palestrina and Subiaco. Many other attacks were successful ; and horrible stories are related of the atrocities committed, when the robbers had injuries to avenge or were disappointed of the ransom. But they were devout in the extreme. Each man wore round his neck images of the Virgin and saints ; their prayers were regularly said before they started on an expedition ; and they are asserted to have more than once captured priests, and forced them, by threats of instant death, to hear their confessions and absolve them. A painter who was taken at Baron Rumohr's mansion, read to the free-booters, by their own desire, some prayers from the book of a shepherd ; and the fellows, edified and delighted, sent down to Olevano a demand that the inhabitants should immediately furnish the troop with five copies of the pious manual, otherwise their town should be burned. Their respect for the church, however, was endangered by the share which the clergy sometimes took in the measures against them ; and every supposed betrayal by priests or friars was relentlessly punished. Some such treachery had been suspected at Frosinone, in 1818, when a surveyor from Rome was sent thither on government service. The first morning that he went into the fields with his escort, he saw, in the nearest wood, the bodies of three or four friars hanging from the branches of the trees. He returned to the town, was seized with a convenient malaria fever, and, as he slyly told the present writer, kept his bed till he was superseded.

The peasantry, while they dreaded and hated the robbers, also in some sort admired them ; they gave no assistance in apprehending them, and were charged with a very general connivance, and many of them with occasionally themselves taking a turn with the bands. In the towns, and especially in Rome and Naples, which the inroads of the brigands never reached, they were

regarded by the populace with enthusiastic and unqualified admiration ; and in all the favourite tales the outlaws are the heroes, and the government and the soldiers something very different.

Since 1820 the robber stories have gradually declined in frequency ; and, though scattered instances are mentioned even now, it is believed that for the last few years the banded hordes have been quite extinct. In 1833 and 1834 the roads between Rome and Naples, and the whole range of the mountains of Sabina and the Abruzzo, were as secure as the hills of Scotland. The quiet which began to take possession of the minds of the people, the slight amelioration in their condition since the distresses of 1814-18, and the death of the principal brigand-chiefs, were more active causes of the improvement than the exertions of the governments. But there are several towns over whose gates there are still blackening the heads of the banditti in iron cages. Rome has some such disgusting spectacles on a gateway close to Saint Peters. The limbs of the executed criminals, once exposed along the roads, have disappeared ; and the last members of the great companies are pining in prison.

In Sicily robberies used to be extremely frequent ; but the thieves do not appear to have ever organized themselves so completely as on the mainland. Bodies of Campieri, or authorized guards, have long been instituted for the protection of travellers ; and attacks in late years have been rare. In Sardinia freebooters seem to be still common ; but the agriculturists in the plains have voluntary associations, whose members, called Barancelli, arranged in parties under a captain for every village, keep guard by turns over the crops and flocks when necessary ; and the society is liable in indemnification for all losses sustained from robberies, by those landholders who contribute to its support. The Barancelli, however, are considered as but very partially effective.

Popular Amusements.

Among the diversified amusements of the people in Italy, the Carnival, the popular theatres, the oral poetry and tales, and the stall-literature, may in some measure indicate the spirit which rules the whole.

The Carnival is celebrated best at Rome ; and, when the government allows the masking (which in several recent seasons it has refused to do), the exhibition still takes place with much of the old liveliness. During this festival, which embraces properly the whole period between New-year's-day and the beginning of Lent, an unrestrained indulgence in enjoyment is the preparative for the long fast. In the papal residence this is the only season which presents an approach to gayety. But the last eight days are the most brilliant ; the streets of the city become a stage, on which man, woman, and child delightedly play the fool ; distinctions of rank, profession, and character, are for a week utterly swept away. The merriment of the season, however, is regulated by strict precedent, and in every day the routine is the same. Till noon the place presents its usual aspect, except that the ends of the Corso are boarded in, and scaffolds erected. After mid-day the bell of the Capitol gives the signal for the outbreak ; and from that moment till sunset the Corso is thronged in its whole length with masks of every kind, on foot and in carriages, busied in exchanging jests, or in pelting each other with mock-comfits of plaster-of-Paris. The carriages move up and down the street in two parallel rows ; the masks on foot occupy the remaining space. The characters vary to infinity ; but the theatrical ones usually prevail, especially the Pulcinellas and Arlechinos ; the ladies assume the picturesque dresses of the peasant girls, or male attire, such as military uniforms, Pulcinella frocks and hats, or a half kind of Pulcinella dress, called that of the Matto or Pazzo ; and the men put on all varieties of female dress, and assume all female characters, grave or comic. At sunset takes place the amusement called the

Corso de' Barberi, or race of the Barbary coursers. A few horses, seldom having much of African blood, are let loose from the Piazza del Popolo, without riders, but having loose spurs and burning matches tied on their backs. The poor animals, frightened and pained, dash along amidst the shouts of the multitude, till they are stopped by a cloth hung across the street at the Venetian Palace ; and the owner of the winner receives a prize, which in the last century was an object of ambition to the highest of the nobles. When the race is over, the guards who have kept the outlets withdraw, and carriages and foot-passengers escape from the turmoil as they best may. On the last evening the comedy has an additional act, that of the *Moccooli*. At dark every one appears with a candle in his hand, and engages in zealous attempts to blow out his neighbour's flame, and to keep in or relight his own, while each shouts, as he effects the extinction of a luminary ; "Death to him who does not carry the candle!"* The amusements of every day are concluded by plays in some of the theatres, and by masked balls of the middle and lower classes in one or two of the others. The Roman Carnival is as remarkable for its general order and decency, as for its singularity and apparent confusion. The papal troops or even the police scarcely ever interfere openly, and it is a maxim of the week that the masks are inviolable ; but it has long been the usual practice to begin the scene by executing one or more condemned criminals by way of warning.

The national drama, the *Commedia dell' Arte*, has been described already, as having taken a place in the literature of the educated classes. The old masks and their comedy lingered longest in Venice, but seem to be now lost even there, with the pomp of the Carnival, and the whole array of wonted ceremonies. One or two travellers describe attempts at the improvised comedy

* Sia ammazzato chi non porta moccoolo !

in that city between 1814 and 1820 ; though the actors seem no longer to have possessed the ancient readiness and fertility, nor the audience their relish for the humour. We must look for the remnants of the masked drama at Milan, Rome, and Naples ; but in the two former places it has taken refuge among puppets. Although the amusement may be childish, the wit expended on it is often excellent ; and the wooden figures sometimes explain points of Italian character and condition, which would escape us every where else.

In Milan the puppet-hero is called Girolamo, and is a greedy, foolish, cowardly, boasting Milanese, who oftenest figures in dramas that are serious, or even mythological. In Rome the theatre of the puppets in the Corso introduces on its stage, of six feet in length, groups of characters both heroic and comic, and scenes varying from exaggerated pathos to low farce. The plays, however, are here most frequently burlesque ; and the hero is invariably Cassandrino, an elderly Roman, who wishes to be thought young, and unites an imperturbably stupid vanity with good humour and frequent felicity of repartee. He sometimes appears in scenes copied broadly from real contemporary life, as in October, when, like his fellow-citizens of the lower orders, he may be seen hiring his coach and driving to the vintage-festival on Monte Testaccio ; and sometimes he is introduced amidst marvellous adventures, and in foreign countries. Such was a piece played in the winter of 1833, which had its scene in the East, and exhibited the traveller turned Turk and involved in a thousand tragical distresses, the very worst of which was his having a harem of twenty wives. The hits of Cassandrino are often exquisite ; and those of a Roman Pulcinella, in a little itinerant puppet-show which disappeared a few years ago, are said to have been still better. While the French occupied the city, and published every day vaunting accounts of victories, after battles in which the Italians shrewdly suspected they had been beaten, Pulcinella appeared on the streets in a new piece, in which he had a termagant

wife, named Victoria. His spouse chased him round the stage with a cudgel ; and at every blow which fell upon his back, the poor man shrieked out, Victoria! Victoria!

But the best developed species of popular drama now existing in Italy, is that which is exhibited at Naples, in the little theatre of San Carlino, on the Largo di Castello. There is exhibited the same spirit of parody which prevails in the puppet-theatres ; but the actors are real persons, and used to consist chiefly of Camerana, the ingenious author of the pieces, and his family. The hero is Pulcinella, a Calabrian Arlecchino, who wears the peaked hat of his province, and a linen frock and trousers. Other masked figures are introduced, such as Tartaglia, and Il Biscagliese (a Biscayan), while several characters are played without masks. The Teatro della Fenice, in the same square, gives plays of a similar cast. In the carnival of 1834 the Fenice had dramatized Machiavelli's *Belphegor* ; the San Carlino, in one piece, had Pulcinella drunk ; another, full of pantomimic buffoonery, was "Death and the Doctor ;" and in a third, called "*Pulcinella Giuocatore*," a series of tragic scenes, in which the clown's master ruined himself at play, alternated with a burlesque series, in which the servant went step by step through the same career of destruction. The performances which, in Lent, succeed to the carnival-farces of Naples, are not one whit less distinctive. They are scripture-dramas, differing from the old miracle-plays in little except their mixing up invented stories with the Biblical history. The citizens listen to them with decency and professed edification ; but no Protestant stranger can avoid being shocked both by the subject of the exhibition and the manner of it. In 1834 one of the little theatres in the Largo di Castello had David and Goliah, which was followed by a more complicated piece, entitled, "The Happy Dream of Gibeon, or the Judgment of Solomon." In the latter, after the monarch had related his vision to the high-priest, the interest of the story centred in a love-affair of one of the king's younger brothers ; the scene of the

dispute between the two women, followed by the order to slay the living infant, took place on the stage, and the saved child was discovered to be the offspring of the prince's private marriage.

The masks may sometimes be seen in the secondary towns. Bologna, for example, has its puppet-show, whose hero is a Doctor of the learned city, called Tabarin ; and in most places will be found small theatres frequented exclusively by the people, and occupied by strolling actors. But little that is national or original will be discovered in them. A company used lately in Verona to play for the cultivated classes in a regular theatre every evening, and for the people by daylight, on a wooden stage built within the arena of the amphitheatre. In April 1834 they played on the latter a bloody melo-drama, entitled, "Sir Ricardo Rumbleberry, first Feudatory of Scotland," in which the villain of the story was named Claverousio.

The Literature of the People.

In surveying the state of letters in Italy, we have confined our attention to works written in the classical language, and intended for educated readers. Between this highest order and the rude books of the people there intervenes a middle class, the Literature of the Dialects, which embraces a collection of works extremely numerous, and in some dialects excellent and polished. The local language of these pieces excludes them from general circulation, even in Italy ; but they are written for a description of students quite different from the lower orders. They are chiefly poetical, and include both original verses of all kinds and translations from the great poets of the nation, especially Ariosto and Tasso. This obscure species of composition is produced by that strong provincial spirit, which has done so much evil mixed with a little good. It is impossible here to do more than mention its existence. Its specimens claim attention in cases only where the works, or portions of them, have been incorporated with the popular literature ;

which has become the case with many, particularly parts of the translations from the modern poets.

The third and lowest kind of Italian literature uses both the provincial dialects and the common written language.* From Bergamo to Naples, we find on the stalls, and in the hands of the people, books in the general tongue, printed for their use, and understood by them.

The compositions which form the peasant's library originate in various ways. Passages from the great poets of the country, especially from Tasso and from Metastasio's odes, find their way to the stalls either in their own language, or in translations. The original poems of the educated classes in the dialects also furnish much, especially in the Venetian patois, which overflows with boat-songs and other lyrics, and in the Neapolitan and Sicilian tongues, which have been also fondly cultivated. The rest is supplied by the ingenuity of authors among the people themselves, many of whom are careful to insert their names in their productions. Stories in prose and verse form a large proportion of the whole stock ; and the universal eagerness for marvellous adventure has had much more influence than the want of education among the people, in giving birth to a profession peculiar to Italy and the East,—that of the Story-tellers. These men are seldom seen in Middle Italy, except at Rome during the October festival : but often on the Piazzetta at Venice, and on the Mole of Naples, at all seasons and every evening, we may see several of those modern Homers, around each of whom is gathered a breathless audience. One relator, modest or incompetent, contents himself with reading from a dirty manuscript a canto of Tasso, Pulci, or the more

* The stall-literature of Rome and its district is shortly described in Müller's *Rom, Römer, and Römerinnen*; and more fully, with specimens, in Mrs Graham's *Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome*. Select pieces in verse were published by O. L. B. Wolffat Stuttgart in 1829, under the title of "*Egeria*." A small collection of broadsides made by the present writer, chiefly at Naples, Rome, Florence, and Bologna, has enabled him to add something to the information contained in those books.

obscure chivalrous poets ; another has his tale by rote, adds circumstances from his own invention, or even claims the authorship for himself ; and all artfully pause when the adventures of their paladins, lovers, robbers, or martyrs, are at the point of most interesting uncertainty. The minstrel's hat is handed round, and the liberality of the crowd keeps pace with their curiosity. Occasionally we even hear extemporaneous poems recited in the streets ; for the people have their improvvisatori as well as the upper classes : and the carnival, a political revolution, or a tragical adventure in private life, seldom fails to find its rhyming chronicler. It will hardly be expected that such effusions should possess very high merit ; and the Italians have no ancient national songs, nor any thing which can compete with the excellence of the old English and Scottish ballads. But their modern popular poetry and tales, while they are immeasurably better written than ours, are very much more decorous : the lyrics in particular are often full of feeling, and some of the humorous pieces are exceedingly amusing.

The books of the people may be seen on the stalls in the towns, and in the hands of the peasantry throughout the country, in numbers which induce one to believe (what is the fact in several quarters) that a large proportion of the inhabitants are able to read them. Writing indeed is not so common an accomplishment ; but we see in few towns, except Venice and Naples, those professional scribes, who sit in little booths before the palace of the Doge and the theatre of San Carlo, ready to indite for a trifling fee, epistles either of love or business.

The popular books may be nearly all comprehended under eight classes.

1. The religious broadsides are very numerous. There are prayers in prose and rhyme, hymns, and other sacred lyrics, among which will be found some poems of Metastasio, Lorenzo de' Medici, and Lorenzo's mother. There are narratives, of which a few take their text

from the Bible, and a much greater number from the legends of the saints. Of scriptural subjects, the Nativity and the Three Kings are especially popular ; and we find poetical histories of Joseph and his brethren, Samson, Judith, and others. Among the saintly legends of Middle Italy, that of the Finding of the Cross by Saint Helena is one of the most elaborate ; and there is a long narrative of Saint Christopher, which styles him “the glorious knight of Christ.” With these may be classed a few moral allegories, like the favourite poem called “The History of Sense.” Sense is a gallant young cavalier, “more proud than Ephialtes,” who rides through the world seeking a master who could protect him from death. Three old men successively encounter him. The World, the first of them, whom he meets in a deep wood, promises him life till a bird that pecks a tree shall have destroyed the whole forest : Pleasure, reposing on a river-bank, promises him life till a water-fowl shall have drunk the channel dry : Science, who with a small knife pares the roots of a huge mountain, can promise him life no longer than till the mountain shall be levelled. Sense refuses their offers ; and, climbing through a pine-wood into beautiful gardens, finds Religion, a cheerful young man, who gives him a horse, called Reason, and engages that he shall not die so long as he does not dismount. Returning on the way by which he came, he finds the mountain vanished, the river dry, the forest withered, and the three old men dead. On reaching his home, he discovers that he has already journeyed eight hundred years, and he resumes his wanderings. Death, in the form of a peasant, tempts him to dismount by irritating his curiosity, and kills him, after reading to him a long list of the heroes he had already slaughtered, among whom are Abraham, Turnus, Judas Maccabeus, Romulus, Lancelot, the Seven before Thebes, the Roman emperors, and the Greek philosophers. This piece has all the air of being a romance of the sixteenth century.

2. There are a few classical poems, which generally

mix their story with some of the saintly legends. The "Orfeo della dolce Lira," a long and wearisome composition, which is much read, remains tolerably faithful to the ancient tale of Orpheus. The "History of the Life and Death of Nero the Emperor" takes in the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul. The "New History of Attila the Scourge of God" is a singular but lively mixture of all costumes and facts. The foundation of Venice is obscurely told ; and at last the invader, who is called a Saracen, is slain by Janus the Christian king of Padua, whose camp he had entered in the disguise of a pilgrim.

3. The stories from the romances of chivalry are generally too long for the cheap sheets of the flying stationers, and are most frequently the exclusive property of the story-tellers. We find however the death of Clorinda (or, as the Romans call her, Crolinda), the Defeat of Roncesvalles, the Treachery of Gano towards Rinaldo, and, the most popular of all the story-books, "The History of the Life of Guerrino, called Il Meschino." Literary men possess this hero in two shapes, the old prose romance, and Tullia d'Aragona's poem ; while the peasants of Middle Italy have him in at least two dissimilar poetical versions, besides a prose tale much longer. He is to them what Crusoe or Sinbad is, or used to be, to the children in our country.

4. No class of tales are read or listened to more eagerly than the versified robber-histories, of which the favourite heroes have been already named in this chapter. Mastrilli is by far the most famous, and is sung in two different poems. These pieces are seldom interesting, but abound in murders and in prayers, offered sometimes by the poet and sometimes by the assassins.

5. Of the numerous tales in verse, altogether fictitious, some greatly outdo all the horrors of the bandit-stories. "La Catalana punita," and the tale of "La Crudele Violante" (an especial favourite), relate adventures that make the flesh creep, and relate them, too, in a way which adds to their atrocity. Several have the romantic incidents and feeling which pervade

the serious parts of Boccaccio and the other old novelists, from whom indeed more than one are borrowed. Others are fairy-tales, one of the best being the beautiful narrative of Liombruno, in which we have evil spirits, enchanted gardens and palaces, a mantle which makes the wearer invisible, and a pair of seven-league hose.

6. The comic pieces have some variety, but much more humour. One favourite class recites the pranks of noted jesters, in the style of Boccaccio's *Buffalmacco*, several of whose jokes figure in the list. The most celebrated of the buffoons are Arlotto, Gonnella, and Bertoldo, each of whom is commemorated in a separate book, all the three being as old at least as the beginning of the sixteenth century. Arlotto is an ignorant but charitable and humorous parish-priest in the neighbourhood of Florence, who amuses Pope Nicholas the Fifth, and, travelling into England, mocks the natives for their drunkenness. The two other books are in a much coarser strain. Gonnella is described as having been the professional jester of the Duke Borso of Ferrara; and Bertoldo, the most famous of all, is a shrewd boor, who exhibits his ugliness and his rough practical jokes before Alboin, king of the Lombards. The two continuations of Bertoldo, describing the adventures of his son and grandson, Bertoldino and Cacasenno, are more recent and greatly inferior.*

The Romans have two long comic poems, each in twelve cantos of ottava rima. One of these, the "Maggio Romanesco," first printed in 1688, describes a mock spectacle exhibited by Rienzi. A scarf is hung as a prize on the top of a maypole, a champion of the Trastevere and another from the Monti climb the pole, and fight at the summit. The second, the "Meo Patacco," published in 1695, has the elisions, transpositions, and other peculiarities of the local dialect, and is written in a style of broad irony. The hero, and other low

* Bertoldo and Bertoldino were versified, in last century, by a company of educated poets, chiefly Bolognese; and we have seen a Spanish translation of the prose series (Barcelona, 1769).

Romans, propose to march and relieve Vienna, then besieged by the Turks ; they wisely deliberate till they hear that the siege is raised, after which they hold a festival ; and, lastly, to show their zeal for Christianity, they break into the Ghetto of the Jews and plunder its houses. No rhymes are so current in Rome as a few pieces bearing the name of the Abbate Veccei. The Testament of this personage, which may usually be purchased at any stall, and does not appear to be considered objectionable or dangerous, is a very profane production. It bequeaths to the testator's friends a number of relics, in the description of which it broadly satirizes not only the heretics, but the miracles of the church and those of the Scriptures, as well as some of the leading events in the history of the world, and the character of more than one celebrated individual, as, for instance, Sixtus the Fifth. The Romans have some satirical wedding-poems. One of the best is the Wedding of the Cats, in which the progress of a passion, the serenading, and all the ceremonies and vicissitudes, are very happily parodied. Another is the Wedding of Madam Luna with Master Barrucabà : the pair and all the company are Jews ; and the peculiarities of the nation,—in person, language, and manners, with their alleged vices and weaknesses,—are exposed in a vein of unbridled humour. This piece is one of the most successful of the Roman witticisms.

7. The political poems which were wont to be pasted up on the statue of Pasquin, are, as might be expected, difficult to be found ; though a few, serious and comic, all composed on the side of legitimacy, are current and easy to be procured. There are Canzoni lamenting the deportation of Pius VII. and congratulating him on his return. There are others on Napoleon, some of them exulting over his fall, and one, the wittiest of the class, describing his alarm at Fontainebleau, with a malicious and most ludicrous vulgarity of caricature. One of this series is grave and really pathetic. It is an imitation of a favourite canzone, in which a young artist, condemned

to die at Naples for a conspiracy, laments his fate on the evening before his execution. The Neapolitans, or some of them, produced, in their pretty dialect, verses of congratulation to King Ferdinand on his happy return to his hereditary throne.*

8. There is an immense multitude of miscellaneous verses, which it is impossible either to arrange or describe. One class might indeed be made of the numerous poems strictly lyrical. Of this kind there are many very beautiful specimens in the soft Sicilian dialect, which are often in the mouths of the people ; and there are several fine ones in the Neapolitan, like the touching ballad of "The Mariner's Departure," or in the comic vein, like the canzone addressed to an enormous Nose. The Venetian dialect, which is still more rich, has some pieces, like the "Pescator dell' Onda," which have found their way to the highest ranks in society, and others which, like the celebrated "Biondina in Gondoletta," have originated in the upper circles, and come to the people at second-hand, recommended by their music. But there are, in several dialects, collections of moral sentences in rhyme, multitudes of versified proverbs, and other irregular compositions, which, united with poems or prose stories of the kinds already described, often help to make up small books. Among the varieties of verse, notice is due to the Ritornello, a sort of poem in three lines, the first being usually the shortest, while they all end with assonances much oftener than rhymes. The Romans choose this form more frequently than any other, for conveying their feelings in verse.

* An Italian comedy, published in 1588, gives us, in one of its scenes. a ballad-seller in Rome bawling his tales, of which the following are titles :—The War of the Grand Turk in Hungary :—The Sermons of Friar Martin :—The Council :—The Affairs of England :—The Procession of the Pope and the Emperor :—The Sack of Rome :—The Siege of Florence :—The Conference of Marseilles :—The Life of the Turks, composed by the Bishop of Nocera.

THE HIGHER RANKS IN ITALY.

Religion, Morality, and Habits of Life.

The higher ranks in Italy must be dismissed with much less notice than their inferiors ; and that for two reasons. First, they are not the characteristic class of the nation ; and much of what they have of character is common to them with the lower orders. Secondly, authentic information regarding them is very difficult of acquisition ; a fact which has especial weight. Amidst a mass of errors and exaggerations, the books of travellers give us here and there a notice which may be relied on ; and to the little knowledge which is thus obtained, these pages can promise but very slight additions. A few distinctive features of society, however, may convey a general idea of its state.

We must seek the higher classes wholly in the towns. No Italian who can help it, lives permanently in the country ; and the rural districts are abandoned to those who cultivate the soil. Even those families who have estates, leave them to the tenants and the steward, except for a month, or six weeks at most, in the hot season, when the town-mansion is placed under the charge of a solitary servant, and the whole establishment is transferred to the villa. This annual retirement, called the Villeggiatura, is, like the house and grounds which are the scene of it, made as similar as possible to the city-life. On the Brenta opposite Venice, we see villas skirting the canal all the way to Padua ; and another line extends between that town and Monselice. From Milan the aristocracy resort to Monza, and gather round the beautiful residence of the viceroy. From Rome the Pope escapes to the banks of the Alban Lake, carrying his immediate circle with him, while the rest scatter themselves in groups elsewhere, but chiefly resort to Albano, Frascati, and La Riccia, where lodgings are engaged by those numerous persons who have no property in the neighbourhood. In Tuscany, on the other hand, most families have estates of their own, and their retirement consequently disperses

them over the whole duchy. Society, during the villeggiatura, is exactly what it is in the towns ; and its gayety and expense have been the frequent cause of ruin. The preference of urban life gives to the country much of that melancholy air which it presents in so many districts ; but it also preserves the towns in a sort of feeble existence, after trade and every other source of prosperity have deserted them.

The education of the higher classes shares, in the present age, the advance which is taking place in that of their inferiors. Its amount, and the manner in which it is imparted, vary infinitely in different towns, in different ranks, and according to the circumstances of particular families. But it is a mistake to suppose that the higher orders in Italy are altogether illiterate. Their education, like that of the clergy, is old-fashioned, scholastic, and very deficient in attention to practical branches of knowledge : the Latin classics, a smattering of philosophy, and the accomplishments of a gentleman, embrace the most common circle of instruction for the males. But those Italian gentlemen who distinguish themselves in literature and art, belong to a class of students or amateurs, not indeed absolutely numerous, but very far from being small in comparison with the same class in the aristocracy of other nations. The usual course for the highest of the nobility, is a private education under a clerical tutor, from whose hands they generally pass to one of the aristocratic colleges.

The higher ranks have oftener a good education than a field on which to employ their acquirements. If it is difficult to describe the general occupations of this class in more northern countries, it would be much more so to set forth those of the Italian gentleman, who has no estate to manage, no stud, no political sphere, and very often no engrossing pursuit whatever. The day of such a person in Rome is substantially that of the nobility in the other towns, with a larger share of inactivity and outward devotion ; and its usual tenor may be represented as nearly the following. Rising late, he hears

mass (in his family-chapel, if he is wealthy enough to have one), and despatches any business, such as an interview with his steward. Visits succeed, and are followed by the early dinner, which is taken either alone or with a small and intimate party. In summer, this meal is universally followed by the *siesta* or hour of sleep. For some time before sunset, the carriages drive slowly up and down the Corso, depositing their inmates at the fashionable coffee-houses. At the Ave-Maria there are private prayers ; and the day usually closes with an evening party ; which, if it has no music, is called a “Conversazione,” and, if it has, receives the pompous name of “Accademia di Musica.” The theatre or similar amusements vary, to some extent, these exceedingly monotonous occupations.

We must yet wait for inquirers who have enjoyed adequate opportunities, to tell us what is the real amount of religious feeling among the educated classes in the various towns of Italy. Every one fulfils regularly, and in general decently, if not devoutly, the observances enjoined by the church. These, as set forth in the Santa Croce or Christ-cross-row for children, are six : the payment of tithes ; not marrying in the prohibited seasons ; the hearing of mass on Sundays and festivals ; the keeping of the prescribed fasts ; confession once a-year at least ; and the taking of the communion in every Easter-week. The last two articles are, in Rome if not elsewhere, strictly insisted on. Every parish-priest in that city keeps a list of communicants, and another of non-communicants ; the latter are reproved privately, then cited ; and, till 1833, a list of the contumacious was posted up in the church as a last warning before severer measures. The higher classes invariably took care that none of their names should be read in the placard. In Rome, Turin, and some other towns, devotion is decidedly fashionable. In the papal residence, indeed, and probably elsewhere, we might set down as a part of the aristocratic religion, that superstitious fondness for miracles, which, as a quality

of faith in the country at large, we have thought it fairer to appropriate to the lower classes. The wonder-working images derive a large portion of their gains from the upper ranks ; and we may always see well-dressed people, especially females, kneeling at the favourite altars. To match these cases, it is an undisputed fact, that, among the males of the higher orders, there is much lukewarmness or even scepticism, the amount of which we do not possess the means of estimating with precision.

In all the most important points, the morality of the nobles and other landholders in Italy has been materially affected by their political depression, and by the laws respecting territorial property. The Fideicommissi, or entails, although not the same in any two provinces, had every where the effect of making the younger sons and the daughters beggars. In Naples, indeed, by a law of 1801, a low maximum was fixed for the portions of noble women ; and in all the states, and during centuries, the females, if a suitable marriage could not be found in a few years, were obliged to take the veil. The younger sons either entered the church, and monopolized its most lucrative places, or obtained public employments, civil or military, or, if they failed in obtaining such, vegetated upon scanty allowances. All restraints on the disposal of property were swept away by the French ; and in no state since the restoration have the ancient fetters been laid on so closely as before.

The position of the younger sons, under the old system, necessarily made them bachelors, and produced the same dangers as the celibacy of the clergy. The elder sons, on the other hand, contracted marriages of convenience ; and out of the two concurring causes arose the strange practice of Cicisbeism, which diffused its poison through the whole system of social life. It was considered a mark of vulgarity, after the first year of marriage, for a lady to be attended to public places by her husband. This rule, it is true, was not peculiar to the Italians ; but they made to it an addition of their own, by restricting the

wife to the attendance of one particular person, who was called her Cavaliere Servente, or, jocularly, her Cicisbeo. This person was at first a kind of upper servant, a poor relation, or an unbeneficed ecclesiastic ; and in this form we may still see serventeism ludicrously caricatured among the middle classes, where a domestic sometimes has to dress for the evening, and attend his mistress as a companion to the theatre or the promenade. Among the nobles, however, the younger sons soon took up the office ; and they held it from the seventeenth century till the occupation by the French. The relation between the cavaliere and the lady whom he served was not necessarily vicious ; its most prominent feature was the ridiculous ; and it was understood to be perfectly pure. But it was a dangerous, and therefore an immoral institution ; and, by its indecent intrusion on the privacy of domestic life, was clearly one of the great causes of that laxity which, worst perhaps at Venice and in Naples, disgraced the nobles throughout the last century. Before the French invasion, faint attempts were made to laugh the system down ; the conquerors brought it pretty generally into discredit ; but whether they altogether banished the corruption along with the cicisbeo, may with some reason be doubted. Since the restoration, though the old custom has been resumed, it is to be found in the towns only, and among the higher classes ; it occurs scarcely any where among the few who compose the middle ranks, and not at all among the rural population, who, indeed, never had it. It prevails more in some cities than in others, and is believed to be nowhere the general rule ; while those who have had reasonable opportunities of observation, assert that it is now regarded with dislike by most persons of intelligence and real respectability. Till it shall have been utterly rooted out, the prevalent accusations against Italian morality will continue to be repeated and believed.

Aristocratic Amusements.

The amusements of the upper classes claim attention

so far only as they are distinctive ; and nearly all which possess this quality may be embraced under three heads. These are, the music and theatres, the extemporaneous poetry, and the literary and scientific academies.

It may excite surprise, that music should not have been enumerated among the diversions of the people at large. The liking for this art, and the fine musical organization, are indeed general : but the result is not at all what those who have not seen Italy are accustomed to believe. The music of the lower classes is of two kinds. That which can alone be considered as their own property, has its seat among the peasantry, and scarcely approaches the towns, except in the airs which are played to some of the popular dances, like the Tarantella of Naples, and the Roman Saltarello. This national music may have interest for the antiquaries of the science, who try to recognise in it the ancient scales ; or it may have charms for those connoisseurs whose taste is peculiarly educated ; but for the common ear, it is as unattractive as it is unvaried. A few airs have indeed been collected, particularly about Venice and Naples, which possess a wild originality ; still the general character is very little superior to the nasal chant with which the shepherds in the Campagna of Rome imitate successfully the harshest sounds emitted by their favourite instrument, the Calabrian bagpipe. The second kind of popular music is found in the towns, where we often hear excellent singing in parts, still oftener vocal solos skilfully performed, and occasionally serenades with the guitar, which acquire an additional interest from their romantic associations. But every thing in these performances is borrowed. The airs are usually those of the favourite operas ; and the performers, with their own national readiness, have learned them in the theatres, or by listening at the windows of houses in which concerts are given.

Italian music, then, is the fruit of artificial cultivation, and its office is to minister to the amusement of the aristocracy. Its character and fame are fixed ; and it is

no part of the plan which has been laid down for these pages, either to relate its history, or to describe the means used for cultivating it. The opera, or musical drama, is its great field ; and in all the capitals except Rome, the government, in different ways, contributes to the support of the chief operatic company. This, indeed, is distinctively the drama of Italy ; it is even considered as exclusively the poetical drama ; for, in ordinary talk, and in the play-bills, a play without music is described as *prosa*. The immense theatres of the Scala at Milan, and the San Carlo at Naples, which are the largest and finest houses, are also the most celebrated for their exhibitions. The performers may be said to sing for the pit ; since the fashionable audience in the boxes resort to the place as a lounge and place of rendezvous, and the conversation of such parties produces a hum which makes it difficult to hear the music, and is interrupted only by the commencement of a favourite air, or of the ballet. The preparations for the stage are suited to this careless reception ; for not unfrequently two or three operas make up the whole variety during a season. The productions of the regular drama have been already described as literary works ; and as amusements they have no remarkable peculiarities, unless we were to notice the amateur-plays, which are often acted extremely well, and chiefly by philodramatic societies, composed of both sexes.

The literary academies, and the Improvvisatori, or composers of extempore poetry, might both have been noticed as phenomena in the history of letters, since both in their turn have done literature some harm ; but they take their proper place as favourite amusements of a class of persons, who are destitute of more serious occupations. The scientific societies claim a higher station.

There were, as we have seen, strong traces of improvised poetry among the ancient Romans ; and it revived in Italy together with intellectual cultivation in the middle ages. During the sixteenth century it was frequent ; and among the famous improvvisatori of that

age, were several who had obtained a reputation in the written literature, especially Bernardo Accolti of Arezzo, named L'Unico Aretino, and Cristoforo, the Florentine poet of romance usually called L'Altissimo. Leo the Tenth's court-jester, Querno, who also exhibited in this way, was a greater favourite with his master than any other. Early in the eighteenth century, Metastasio, when a mere boy, gained his earliest fame by extemporaneous poems, and was himself wont to attribute many faults of his later works to evil habits which he contracted by this exercise. After Peretti of Siena, whom Benedict XIII. allowed to be crowned in the Capitol, the next famous improvvisatore was Francesco Gianni, who was pensioned by Napoleon, and printed a collection of poems on the battles gained by his patron. No published pieces of this class have acquired a place in the standard literature ; and those of Gianni, who seems to have had more genius than any of his predecessors, have sunk into forgetfulness with the rest. He was succeeded by a reciter of unequalled fertility and fluency, Tommaso Sgricci of Arezzo, who, born in 1798, was lately alive, but has for several years made no public appearances. Besides the usual odes and other short poems, he composed and declaimed many entire tragedies, of which two or three have been published. Several females also have been renowned in this department ; among whom was La Fantastici of Florence, in the beginning of the present century. A few years later, Rosa Taddei, a young Neapolitan, appeared in Rome with great applause, when she was little more than seventeen. Sgricci's readiness, though not his invention, was surpassed by Cicconi, who, in 1829, improvised a whole epic poem ; and Bindocci, an advocate of Siena, who recently enjoyed the greatest fame, held at Vienna in the year 1833 a competition with a German improvvisatore. In the public exhibitions, the subjects are suggested by the audience, and drawn by lot ; and the task is aided by a musician, who plays slow airs on a piano-forte, sometimes accompanying the chanted recitation, but more frequently stopping when the poet has completed his few

minutes of reflection before beginning. The pieces of Sgricci and Rosa Taddei are described as having produced marvellous effects, and as having displayed great poetical talent : Bindocci's,—as heard by the present writer,—were singularly effective in delivery, and abounded both in imagery and warm feeling, although it is impossible, without seeing them in print, to judge how far they possessed real merit. But much of that which is most admired in all these performances, is truly a wretched waste of ingenuity. Such is, for example, the composition of extempore sonnets with *rime obbligate*, that is, sonnets in which the rhyme for each line is given by the audience, no two being furnished by the same person, and all the words being studiously chosen with the design of perplexing the poet. In meeting such difficulties, Bindocci used to display wonderful promptness ; but all his compositions of this sort were felt, even at the time, to be in themselves quite worthless ; and indeed nothing so produced could well be otherwise.

The literary academies of Italy originated in the fifteenth century, and the whimsicalities that exposed them to derision throughout Europe arose in the midst of that universal enthusiasm for letters, which characterized the succeeding age. The academies of the sixteenth century have, except one of them, left us little but the record of their extraordinary titles, which we can hardly believe to have been assumed by rational men.* The most extravagant in conception of all was that which became the most famous. It was a small society which, in 1582, began to meet at Florence for the purpose of critical discussion. The members called their meeting a Sifting, or Cruscata, from the word *Crusca*, signifying bran ; their body took the appellation of the Accademia

* The following are specimens, a few out of an immense number, all of the same kind. In Rome was the Academy of the Vinedressers. In Florence were those of the Lucid, the Obscure, the Immovable, the Enraged, the Inflamed. In Siena were the Stunned, and the Rugged. In Perugia was the Academy of the Insensate. In Bologna, were the Sleepy, the Awake, the Lazy, the Frozen. In Faenza were the Men-who-had-lost-their-way.

della Crusca ; every academician assumed a title relating to the operation symbolized in the name of the fraternity ; and their first published paper, an unmeasured and cowardly attack upon Tasso, who was then pining in the madhouse, was wholly expressed in the technical language of the mill, and entitled a Stacciata or Sievefull. In the next century, though the literary academies still carried on their odd proceedings, they were in less fame than the scientific associations, of which the earliest, in that age at least, was one instituted at Rome in 1603 by Galileo and others. Imitating the fancy of the older academies, it took the name of the Lynx-eyed (I Lincei). The most celebrated, but also the most short-lived of all, was the Florentine Accademia del Cimento, or Experimental Academy, founded in 1657, under Galileo's pupil Viviani.

This retrospect introduces us to those academies of the eighteenth century which still exist. Most of the older ones merged in the famous Arcadia of Rome, formed in 1690 by Gravina, Crescimbeni, and others, on a plan even more foolishly fanciful than that of the Crusca.* Its laws were drawn out in Ten Tables in a style imitating the ancient Roman. The constitution was declared republican ; the first magistrate was styled Custos ; the members were called Shepherds ; it was solemnly enacted that their number should not exceed the number of farms in Arcadia ; each person on his admission took a pastoral name, and had an Arcadian farm assigned to him ; the business of the meetings was to be conducted wholly in the allegorical language, and the speeches and verses as much so as might be. The aim of the Academy was, to rescue literary taste from the prevalent corruptions of the time ; the purpose, the whim, and the celebrity of some among the originators, made it instantly fashionable ; and in a few years it numbered about 2000 members, propagating itself by colonies all over Italy. The association completely failed

* See its statutes and early history, in Crescimbeni's *Stato della Basilica di Santa Maria in Cosmedin* ; Roma, 1719 : lib. iii. cap. 3.

in its professed design, but its farce was played with all gravity during the eighteenth century ; and, besides Italians, scarcely any distinguished foreigner could escape from the City of the Seven Hills without having entered its ranks. In 1788, Goëthe was enrolled as an Arcadian, by the title of Megalio Melpomenio, and received, under the academic seal, a grant of the lands entitled the Mel-pomenian Fields, sacred to the Tragic muse.* The Arcadia has survived all the changes of Italy ; it still holds its meetings in Rome, listens to pastoral sonnets, and christens Italian clergymen, English squires, and German counsellors of state, by the names of the heathens. It publishes, moreover, a regular journal,—the *Giornale Arcadico*,—which, although it is a favourite object of ridicule with the men of letters in other provinces, particularly the Milanese in their *Biblioteca Italiana*, condescends to follow slowly the progress of knowledge, and often furnishes foreigners with interesting information, not only literary but scientific.

Italy has several other academies of literature and antiquities, chiefly of modern origin. Rome can boast of the Tiberina,—the Latina,—the Archæological Academy, founded by the French, which has published several volumes of transactions,—and a theological association, the Accademia di Religione Cattolica. Among those in other towns, the three following have attained especial eminence : the Academy of Cortona, instituted for investigating Etruscan Antiquities ; the Academy of Herculaneum at Naples, founded by Tanucci in 1755 ; and the Florentine Academy, for Etruscan Antiquities, opened in 1807.

The eighteenth century produced as many as twelve or fifteen scientific societies, among whose members were found very high names ; and several of them issued valuable transactions. The best known were these : the Institute of Bologna, founded in 1712 ; the Royal

* Goëthe's diploma, and the history of his admission, are given in his *Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom*.

Neapolitan Academy in 1779 ; the Royal Academy of Turin, whose first volume of memoirs, in 1759, introduced to notice the celebrated mathematician, Lagrange. Most of these still exist, though some are quite inactive. Institutions of another class, which have chiefly arisen in the present century, promise to do infinite service. These are the societies for the improvement of rural affairs,—of which there are already several. Regular journals are published by the two most active of them ; namely, the Agricultural Society of Turin, which is recent, and the Georgofili of Florence, instituted in 1755.

CHAPTER XI.

Illustrations of the Natural History and Resources of Italy, and the Productive Industry of the Italians.

CLIMATE—Meteorological Observations—Seasons—Salubrity—ZOOLOGY—*Italy*—Animals Domestic and Wild—Birds and Insects—*Sicily*—Wild Animals—*Fishes and Fisheries*—The Po—Sicily—GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY—*Upper Italy*—The Alps—The Valley of the Po—Volcanic Hills—*The Apennines and Subapennines*—Their Formations—*The Volcanic Zone*—The Campagna and City of Rome—The Bay of Naples and Phlegræan Fields—Vesuvius—The Calabrias—*The Italian Islands*—Elba, Corsica, and Sardinia—The Rocks of Sicily—Mount Etna—Smaller Isles—*Mines and useful Minerals in Italy and the Islands*—Iron Mines in Lombardy—Mines in Piedmont—Mines in Tuscany—Mines in Elba—Mines in Calabria—Quarries of the Apennines—Other Mineral Beds—BOTANY AND AGRICULTURE—*Upper Italy*—Vegetation on the Mountains—The Hills—The Plains—Agricultural Rotations—Irrigated Pastures—*Middle and Lower Italy*—Characteristic Plants—The Evergreen Region—The Apennines—Agriculture in Tuscany—Agriculture in the Papal States—Agriculture in the Neapolitan Provinces—*Sicily*—Oriental Vegetation—Characteristic Plants—Cultivation of Grain—*Sardinia*—Vegetation—Agriculture.

THE CLIMATE OF ITALY.

METEOROLOGICAL observations, accurately conducted in the principal Italian cities, and regularly published in the scientific and literary journals, furnish an abundant store of facts, easily accessible to those who wish to study in detail the physical peculiarities of the peninsula and its islands.

The medium height of the thermometer for the whole

year at different places has been stated as follows :—at Milan, $55^{\circ}.4$ of Fahrenheit's scale ; at Rome, 59° ; at Palermo, $62^{\circ}.5$; and in Sardinia, $60^{\circ}.5$. In the Roman gardens the almond-trees blossom about the end of January ; and in March at latest, the warmth of spring has there become great and constant. The summer heats in that quarter are most intense, or, at any rate, most oppressive, in the month of August ; but they are alleviated by gentle breezes, and by occasional thunderstorms with rain. For about two months and a half in the middle of summer, the highest temperature at Rome, on an average of years, has been about 92° ; but that height is sometimes exceeded. In July 1828, the thermometer in that city rose to 95° ; and for some days in the same month, at Molfetta in the Terra di Bari, it ranged from 97° to 104° . The corn-harvest in the Roman district commonly begins about the end of June, and the vintage early in October : soon after the beginning of September the autumnal rains set in ; and, when their violence is over, the climate, till then almost insufferably warm except in favourable exposures on the hills, becomes again moderate and delightful. During the winter months the temperature is very capricious, the nights are exceedingly cold, and the suddenness of the chill which accompanies the evening twilight is equally perceptible by the senses and from the evidence of the thermometer. On the mountains near Rome, snow lies every year, though not long ; and in the city it usually falls one day at least in the season, but immediately disappears. In the south of Italy, and in Sicily, the heats of summer are mitigated by the daily breeze, which springs up two or three hours before mid-day, and sinks again towards evening. On the hottest days in Sicily, the thermometer ordinarily rises to 90° or 92° , and in the coldest days of winter it very seldom falls below 36° .

At Rome, and indeed throughout all Italy, the east winds are generally stormy, but the prevailing breezes are not violent. The only ones which are dreaded are the

Tramontana, a chill and piercing north-wind ; and the Scirocco, or south-east, a hot, moist, enervating blast, to which the Libeccio, or south-west wind, often bears a strong affinity. In the south, the scirocco frequently blows for days together. In Sicily the winds are variable, the northerly and westerly, dry and healthy breezes, being prevalent ; but the scirocco is still more annoying there than on the mainland.

At Rome, the barometer scarcely ever falls below 27.5 inches, or rises above 28.5. In Sicily, however, its medium height is 29.8 inches, and in Sardinia, 29.69. The quantity of rain varies exceedingly in different quarters ; but the principal dissimilarity in this respect between the Italian climate and our own, consists in the steady dryness of several months, the rains falling principally during the other seasons, and in large quantities at a time. The observations made at the Brera College, and the Collegio Romano, for the year 1836, give 40 inches 2.75 lines as the quantity of rain which fell during that year at Milan, and 27 inches 7.26 lines as the quantity which fell at Rome. In the latter city, during the months of June and July, no rain fell for twenty-six successive days, and none in August except on two days.

The observations for the same year, which are made at Milan twice a-day, and at Rome three times, furnish also the following results. At the former place, the sky was entirely clouded or overcast at both times of observation, on 65 days ; on 148 days the sun was visible, but through scattered clouds or mists, at each observation ; and on 75 days there was unbroken sunshine. At Rome, the days which were cloudy at all the hours of observation were 39 ; those in which the sun was visible to the observer through clouds or vapour (though frequently quite unclouded at other hours) were 103 ; and the days of bright sunshine were 59. Of those cloudless days at Rome, 26 were in the months of June, July, and August ; in the same months 40 days belonged to the other class, in which the sun was partially hidden ; and on one day only was the sky completely overcast.

At Palermo, in 1814, there were observed 159 bright fine days, 121 overcast and cloudy, and 36 that were misty; while rain, which scarcely ever visits Sicily from May till September, fell on 81 days of that year.

The effects of the Italian climate on human health require more extensive and accurate bills of mortality, before they can be exactly estimated. From such information on the subject as they have been able to collect, some medical writers have recently drawn startling conclusions, which it is for other professional men to substantiate or disprove. We may safely infer thus much, that the expectation of life in Italy is at present considerably less than in our own country, and inferior to that in several other regions of Europe; while in Rome, and one or two other large towns, the returns are still more unfavourable. Indeed, for the papal residence, if the police of the place be not amended, it is likely that future and more careful tables will not vary much from the statements at present received, which assert the proportionate mortality in that city to be nearly double that of London, and little less than triple that of England generally. This, however, can be true of no other Italian town; and of the peninsula in general, it must be remarked, that it has a very close population; and that there, more perhaps than in any other European country, the poor are numerous and insufficiently cared for. With increased cleanliness and comfort will come increased longevity.

But large tracts of land in Italy are infested during the hot summer months by their well-known Malaria. This unhealthy atmosphere, and the diseases which it generates, prevail over the whole of the great Maremma from Leghorn to Terracina (excepting particular spots), —in the Maremma of Pæstum with yet more deadly virulence,—in several small districts of Puglia, and the other provinces of Naples,—and even in some portions of Lombardy, with one or two of Piedmont. In Sardinia, it has been known from the beginning of history; and it also affects many parts of Sicily. It is a curious question how far the malaria prevailed in ancient Italy,

though there is no doubt whatever that it was known, and extended even round Rome itself. Its immense increase in modern times is equally undoubted ; and the absence of cultivation, and of human habitations, may be usually traced as causes which produce or diffuse it. The Pontine Marshes, now a pestilential desert, were once covered with Volscian towns ; the mouth of the Tiber, whither convicts are sent to die, was anciently lined by Roman villas ; and Pæstum, whose hamlet is cursed by the deadliest of all the Italian fevers, was in other days a rich and populous city.

Partial attacks have been repeatedly made on this enemy, and sometimes it has been driven back. The cultivation of the Tuscan Maremma by Leopold was for a time successful ; and the present government have commenced similar attempts on a smaller scale. In the Campagna of Rome itself, a pleasing instance of improvement in salubrity, as in every thing else, is presented by the lands of Zagaruolo, not far from Palestina, the property of a Roman nobleman, who has given the soil to the peasants for a perpetual and moderate ground-rent.

In winter the spots infected by the malaria are perfectly healthy. Their insalubrity commences and increases with the summer heats, and disappears when the air has been cooled by the autumnal rains. But even during the prevalence of the miasma, its partial operation is one of its oddest circumstances. Rome stands in the midst of an infected district : but some parts of the city are always safe ; others become unhealthy every summer, and a few, like the Aventine, are absolutely pestilential. Even one side of a street is occasionally insalubrious, while the other is free ; or the upper and lower stories of the same house are affected not less unequally. The most usual consequences of the malaria are intermittent fevers, out of which malignant or slow ones often arise. The constitutional effects on those who are constantly exposed to the miasmata, are painfully visible in their livid skin and bloated bodies. The cause of these distempers is

quite obscure ; but nothing promises to throw so much light on their nature as the comparisons which have been instituted between them and the yellow fever of the tropics. The best preventives are shelter by night, warm and thick clothing by day (like that of the friars, who live while the peasants die in troops around them), and an avoidance of sudden changes of temperature.

The plague is now a rare visitant in Italy. In 1815, however, it attacked the town of Noja, in Puglia, and of 928 persons infected 716 died. The Asiatic cholera was recently as deadly in the Cisalpine peninsula as in any other part of Europe.

THE ZOOLOGY OF ITALY.

Naturalists seem to admit that the zoology of Italy has been very imperfectly explored ; and details of the known facts must be sought in works professedly scientific.*

Among the domestic animals, the buffalo alone, imported from Africa in the seventh century, has been introduced into Italy since the classical ages. A large colony of camels, which may be seen in the plain of Pisa, was brought over in the time of the crusades by a prior of the Knights Hospitallers, who was a native of that city. The common sort of cattle, of large size, with long broad horns, and of light colour, are chiefly used for the draught ; and the smaller Lombard breed, which is kept for the dairy, is essentially a cross between the Swiss and the Hungarian. The sheep do not present any peculiar feature ; nor do the horses, the asses, or the numerous mules of the Apennine, call for description.

Among the wild animals of Italy, the boar is not uncommon ; and the wolves are not yet quite extirpated. In the mountains of Parma, rewards are given for their destruction ; and we have ourselves witnessed the alarm excited by a herd of them among the highest valleys of the northern Abruzzo. Badgers, martens, hares, and

* The fullest account, easily accessible, is Swainson's, in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography.

foxes, furnish some materials for hunting, and bird-shooting is a universal amusement. Of the birds found near Rome, the *Fauna Italica* enumerates 247 species ; and the list of those which do not occur in Britain includes species of the eagle, vulture, falcon, thrush, lark, starling, hoopoe, partridge, plover, stork, heron, ibis, curlew, spoonbill, flamingo, tern, and pelican. Among the insects, the silk-worm is valuable ; a species of scorpion is venomous ; and the existence of the tarantula, a large poisonous spider, has been denied, and is still doubtful.

The native animals of Sicily, it is said, have greatly decreased in number, and even several entire species are stated to have disappeared. The domestic animals are not peculiar. Among the wild ones, the wolf is believed to be extinct ; porcupines were once found ; and the boar seems to be very rare. The fallow deer is kept in one or two parks, but is not seen in the open country. Hares and rabbits are the most common of the wild species. The list of birds includes the Italian sorts, and a few, chiefly water-fowl, from the coasts of Africa. The insects are numerous, but are described as being more African than European. Locusts have not appeared in the island since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The numerous species of fishes which frequent the coasts cannot be wholly passed over ; for they form even now an important source of subsistence, and one that might be made much more productive than it is. The rented fisheries of the Po, which may be taken as a specimen of Italian rivers, yield, besides other sorts, sturgeon, salmon, lampreys, trout, eels, tench, and barbel. The sea-fishings are more valuable, and more industriously used, on the coast of Sicily than farther north. In that quarter the tunny-fish furnishes the most productive of them, and is caught by large anchored nets, floated with corks. The sword-fish, besides being taken in the tunny-nets, is harpooned in the Straits of Messina. Anchovies are exported, though not largely ; the mullet and some other fishes are caught for the sake of the

roes, which make botarga ; shell-fish are taken in abundance, and some coral is procured, chiefly at Trapani.

ITALIAN GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.

Since the beginning of the present century, the mineralogical structure of Italy, and the neighbouring islands, has been carefully explored ; and no European country now presents to the student facts more interesting. The works of several older Italian mineralogists are exceedingly valuable ; but the theory of the geological structure of the country was founded by the celebrated Brocchi, in his *Conchiliologia Fossile Subapennina*, published in 1814. Since that time no intelligent inquirer has neglected the field which the peninsula and its islands offer ; but to none, not even to Von Buch himself, has Italian geology owed such improvement as to Lyell, whose theories, indeed, have derived from Italy and Sicily their most valuable materials.*

THE ITALIAN PENINSULA.

Upper Italy, enclosed between the Alps and the northern side of the Apennines, forms in its middle and lower districts the valley of the Po. In this great plain the tertiary rocks are covered by alluvial deposits, in many places immensely deep, and consisting partly of loam, partly of clay. Along the banks of the Adriatic, for more than a hundred miles, from the south of Ravenna

* The following are the sources from which the present sketch is mainly derived :—Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, edition 1837, 4 vols. The *Biblioteca Italiana*, especially papers by Brocchi, in volumes xi. xiv. and xvii. Two or three treatises in the *Giornale Arcadico*, particularly one by Cappello in the number for October 1828. Many papers, original and translated, in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, both series; particularly papers by Hoffmann, Hausmann, Dufresnoy, Elie de Beaumont, Daubeny, and Christie. Papers in the *Transactions of the Geological Society*, by De La Beche, Buckland, and Scrope. Papers in De La Beche's *Selections*, by Brongniart. Professor Jameson's *Treatise on the Mineralogy of Italy*, in Murray's *Encyclopædia of Geography*. Papers by Professor Forbes in Brewster's *Journal of Science*.

to the head of the Gulf of Trieste, the land, receiving during the last two thousand years constant acces-sions from the matter carried down by the rivers, has encroached on the sea to a breadth nowhere less than two miles, while the delta of the Po has acquired a breadth of twenty. In the whole of Upper Italy there are no volcanic traces, except at two points,—the Euganean Hills to the south of Padua, and the Berician and Sub-alpine Hills about Vicenza, of which Monte Bolca is the most famous. The fossil remains prove that the eruptions which produced those eminences are far older than any others which can be traced in Italy; and the calcareous strata with which they are associated belong to Lyell's Eocene, the oldest group of the tertiary period.

The granitic masses of the High Alps are chiefly beyond the Italian frontier; and in those heights of the range which dip into the Lombard plain, the principal rocks are secondary limestone of the Jura formation, overlying red sandstone, beneath which are argillaceous, and more rarely micaceous schists. The Maritime Alps exhibit secondary strata, covering their primary and transition rocks, and girt on both sides, as the High Alps are on the south, by tertiary zones. In the valley of the Bormida, above Finale, are widely diffused strata, which occur again in the mount of the Superga, near Turin, and are proved by their curious fossils to belong to the Miocene, or second stage of the tertiary period. And to the older division of the Pliocene, or third ter-tiary group, are assigned other strata which occur on both sides of the Maritime Alps, but especially at Acqui on the north, and, on the south at Genoa, Albenga, Savona, and Nice.

The remainder of Italy, forming the peninsula proper, differs much in its geological structure from the great northern valley and its encircling heights. In the Apen-nines, primary and transition rocks may be traced at intervals along the Mediterranean side of the coast; and in Tuscany they connect the mainland with the islands

of Elba, Corsica, and Sardinia, which, in their main structure, are all primary. On the opposite side, in a similar way, though without the intervention of the sea, a lateral branch of these formations terminates at Otranto ; and the primary gneiss, detected in the Gran Sasso itself, and uniting with slate among the central heights of Calabria, next passes across into the north-eastern corner of Sicily. As far southward as the Florentine district, the Apennines are chiefly composed of a gray sandstone, which, called by the Italians Macigno, is usually considered as a greywacke. But even in that portion, there occurs that which forms the whole mass of the central Apennine from Florence to Calabria, a white limestone, containing no metallic ores, few associated strata, and referred to the Oolitic formation of the Jura Alps. This is the rock which we find in the precipices of Tivoli, as well as in the low Apulian plains ; and in the Gran Sasso stratified masses of it are interspersed with pyromachous quartz.

At the end of the secondary geological period, the Apennines are to be regarded as plunged in the sea a thousand feet at least, or perhaps twice as much, deeper than they now are ; and a group of islands must have been formed by their central heights, associated with Corsica, Sardinia, and a part of Sicily. The formation of those lower eminences, which, clustering round the great range, have been called the Subapennines, belongs to the tertiary period, during which the peninsula was acted upon by a variety of forces. Some strata have been deposited while the place on which they sank was part of the ocean-floor ; for testaceous fishes and marine plants are found embedded in them. A second class, the origin of which is shown by fluviatile and lacustrine fossils, have been deposited after the ocean had retired, and its bed been filled by rivers and fresh-water lakes. Other portions of the existing land have been thrown up by a chain of volcanoes.

The Subapennine Hills generally consist of a brown or blue marl, above which are yellow calcareous sand

and gravel ; though in some tracts the one stratum or the other is wanting, while in several districts different beds are interstratified with them. Both members of the group have been derived from the waste of the calcareous Apennine mountains, which, when these deposits were made, must have constituted the seacoast. Although the limestone rocks of the central range are always inclined, in some places violently so, the Subapennine beds, having been formed slowly by submarine deposits, are horizontal, except when volcanic forces have deranged them. Brocchi satisfactorily referred all the Subapennine strata to the tertiary period ; and later investigations, especially Lyell's, have done much towards appropriating different portions of the range to the several stages of that formation.

Thus far the geological monuments of the peninsula serve to establish easily a consistent history of its structure. Other facts present themselves, which are not so easily reconcileable with any simple view. Among these is the occurrence, in some places, of fresh-water deposits, which appear to have been made in periods when, according to the outline of the theory suggested by the leading facts, the strata might have been expected still to form part of the ocean-bed. Such deposits, near Siena, containing fluviatile shells of the older Pliocene stage, and alternating with strata containing none but marine species, are not so curious as the still older fresh-water testacea, belonging to the Miocene period, which are inexhaustibly abundant in the Upper Valdarno. The strata which contain the latter are evidently the deposits of a fresh-water lake ; and they contain also a great number of fossil mammalia, all belonging to species now extinct, but including genera, not only of the animals still existing in the country, but of the hyena, and of several pachydermata, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and mastodon.

Phenomena still more interesting and more complicated meet us in the Volcanic Zone of Italy. The eru-

tions have burst out nowhere in the sloping side of the Apennines towards the Adriatic, nor any where in the central range, except in a line which has been lately traced from Campania eastwards, including the poetical Lake Amsanctus and ending in Horace's Mount Vultur. This hill is a cone of lava and tuff, from whose sides issue carbonic acid and sulphuretted hydrogen. With this immaterial exception, the volcanic district lies wholly on the south-western side of the mountains. Its northern limit is the Tuscan river Ombrone ; it next embraces the Campagna of Rome, and, rising between Palestrina and Frescati, can be traced down the valley of the Sacco into that of the Garigliano, where the hill of Rocca Morfina, near Teano, connects it with the remarkable district composed by the Bay of Naples, with its mountains and islands. The volcanic range may there be considered as closing, unless we regard the desolating earthquakes of Calabria as connecting it with the Lipari Isles and Sicily. Every where to the north of Campania, the subterranean fires have been extinct during the whole period of history ; in the Neapolitan district, the volcanic forces have been active ever since the commencement of the Christian era, Vesuvius being the principal vent ; and the volcanoes of the Lipari Isles, as well as that of Etna in Sicily, are described as having burned from the remotest ages to which human records go back.

The geology of the Roman plain throws no inconsiderable light on the history and traditions of the Eternal City. The Sabine mountains are Apennines of the general oolite limestone ; and to the same formation belong Mount Soracte, the Volscian range, and the promontory of Circeollo. The Pontine Marshes present an alluvium, containing numerous marine fossils, a bed which, at the eastern edge, ten miles from the present shore, is found to reach to a depth of seventy-two feet. An increasing delta at the mouth of the Tiber has, since the classical times, forced the waters three miles back from Ostia ; and the watch-tower of San Michele, built at the sea-side in the middle of the sixteenth century, is already

nearly a mile inland. All the remainder of the Campagna may be regarded as being, in one sense or another, a volcanic formation.

The whole Roman plain was at first covered by the sea, which washed the sides of the Sabine and Volscian mountains, and perhaps stood not much lower than the summit of the Alban Mount, 2900 feet above the present level. The earliest deposits made in this quarter seem to have been the general tertiary strata of clays and marls, washed down from the neighbouring Apennines. But, while the plain still lay deep beneath the ocean-waters, it was thrown into disorder by the breaking out of numerous volcanoes, having two foci. The one of these was at the northern extremity, where we now trace an immense cluster of volcanic heights, the centre being found in the Ciminian Hills. Among them the Monte Soriano, eastward from Viterbo, rising full 4000 feet above the sea, is covered with currents of trachytic lava, while Radicofani shows the Subapennine marls capped with basalt. This cluster comes nearest to Rome in the hills of Tolfa, the adjoining lakes of Bracciano, Stracciacappa, and Martignano, and in the dried-up basin of Baccano. In the southern quarter, again, the Alban Mount was the principal centre of a second volcanic ring, in which, if the lakes of Castel-Gandolfo and Nemi were really craters, we might reckon five or six points of eruption. These two clusters discharged but little lava; and only one great stream of that substance has been discovered, which ran from the Alban Mount, and can be traced rather more than eight miles, ending near the tomb of Cecilia Metella. The lava of this current, called silex by the Romans, was the first material they used for paving their roads. On the other hand, the discharge of scoriæ, and other loose matter, from the volcanoes, was prodigious. But the ashes and lapilli do not so often occur loose, as agglutinated by their long deposition beneath the waters into the earthy rock called tuff, a stone quite different from the lava. The tuff most frequent about Rome is a dark-coloured,

soft, granular sort ; the “*tufa granulare*” of Brocchi. The catacombs are excavated in it, and it furnishes the *pozzuolana* or Roman cement of commerce. The stony tuff, or “*tufa lithoides*,” of the district, is a more compact rock, of a reddish-brown colour. Being fit for building, it was quarried in the cavities which were afterwards the prisons of the Capitol, and was used in the *Cloaca Maxima*. The ancient Alban stone, and the Gabine, were local varieties of tuff, differing little from each other, both of which, indifferently, are now called *peperino*.

The immense masses of those tufaceous rocks, which cover the alluvial marine strata on the plain of Rome, show that the sea must have rested over the country for ages after the volcanoes had discharged the loose fragments. The fires became extinct ; the submarine tufaceous beds were consolidated ; the waves next retired, or rather, the land rose, suddenly or by slow degrees ; the Tiber, the Arno, and the other streams which now aid them in watering the plain, did not at once become rivers, but spread themselves out in numerous fresh-water lakes, which stood 140 feet at least higher than the present bed of the Tiber at Rome. The fresh-water strata are of two kinds. The first is composed of sand, marl, and similar materials ; the second is the singular rock called *travertino*, which is a calcareous deposit, generally rich in organic remains, and of a fine reddish-brown or yellow colour,—a hue which gives to many antique ruins no small share of their beauty.

The ground within the walls of Rome itself may be considered as forming three sections, each of which belongs, essentially though not exclusively, to one of the three great periods of its geological revolutions.—On the right of the Tiber, the range of hills, whose highest point is the Monte Mario, is principally composed of marine tertiary strata, derived from the degradation of the Apennines. A blueish-gray clay-marl regularly underlies another stratum, which is in some places loose sand, and in others a horizontally stratified limestone. In both members of this formation marine conchylia are

frequent, and a large proportion of them belong to existing species.—The second section is on the left bank of the river, and is composed of the Seven Hills, the domain of the volcanic power, though never the actual seat of any volcanoes. The marine alluvial deposits can scarcely be traced on that bank except at one place. In the Capitoline Hill there is, lowest, a thick stratum of micaceousclay, mixed with beds of limestone; next comes a bed of sand and clay, which is the uppermost of the marine formation; above it is granular tufa ten feet in depth; and over all, reaching to the summit, is a capping of lithoid tuff rising about a hundred feet. The granular tuff forms the chief mass of the Palatine, Viminal, Quirinal, and Pincian Hills; and mixtures of this with the lithoid tuff appear to be the principal component parts of the Esquiline, Cælian, and Aventine. It must be observed, as an indication of the height of the sea during the formation of the tufaceous beds, that the whole summit of the Janiculan range to its highest point, full 300 feet above the sea, has its marine beds covered by a coating of the lithoid tuff. It is also a fact very curious, but quite well ascertained, that the showers of scoriæ which have formed the tuff of the city have not come from the Alban Mount, whence we should naturally have looked for them, but from the Ciminian cluster of the volcanoes, which is much farther distant.—The third section of Rome, the plain or valley of the Tiber, is the peculiar region of the fresh-water formations. The deposits of this sort, all of which are evidently lacustrine, not fluviatile, are of both the usual kinds. Every where on the plain, and far up in the little valleys among the hills, on both sides of the river, there are beds of a yellowish-gray argillaceous marl, which is in some places interrupted by heaped masses of different sorts, chiefly a yellowish calcareous sand. Both in the arenaceous beds, and in the marl, are found masses of calcareous tuff, which indicate their fresh-water origin both by their formation and by the lacustrine testacea which they contain. Fossil mammalia are frequent in

those deposits ; and the bones of elephants have been discovered, not only near the surface of the soil, but on the Sacred Mount, incrusted with calcareous spar, and at a depth of thirty feet, so as to show that their deposition cannot possibly be referred to historical times. The fresh-water marls are seen in the vaults of San Pietro in Vincoli, on the Esquiline Mount, at a height of 140 feet above the present bed of the Tiber. The travertine beds, which reach nearly as high, occur in many places, chiefly on the left bank of the river. The Aventine Mount, where it overhangs the water, presents a travertine cliff half a mile long, and ninety feet above the stream ; another range, beginning in the side of the Pincian Mount, beside the Porta del Popolo, 130 feet higher than the river, extends nearly to the Ponte Molle, which is a mile and a half distant. The latter bed is remarkable for the position of its tuff over the travertine, a fact which Brocchi ingeniously reconciled to the received view by his well-known theory of the recombination of the tufa.

The lakes which formed the travertines of Rome must have covered its site during many ages. At last, on some new change of level, perhaps attended by the forcible removal of barriers which confined the waters on the side of the Mediterranean, the fresh-water seas sank away, and the Tiber and Anio began to scoop out for themselves channels on the undeluged plain. Even after many ages more had run, the geological history of Rome had left its vestiges in those two lakes which, the traditions tell us, filled the hollows intervening respectively between the Palatine and Aventine, and the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. The Cloaca Maxima of the Roman kings drained those little lakes and their surrounding marshes ; and the city of the Seven Hills assumed, with its historical name, the historical aspect of its scenery.*

* Westphal, *Die Römische Kampagne*. 1829 ; Einleitung. Hoffmann's memoir, *Die Beschaffenheit des Römischen Bodens* ; pub-

In the district of Naples, and not less in Calabria, the monuments of the geological period are quite eclipsed in interest by those extraordinary phenomena which have marked the ages of human history.

The secondary Apennine limestone of the mountains behind the Bay of Naples comes westward in the high rocky range, which, stretching from Castellamare, composes the southern side of the bay ; and this calcareous formation then reaches its farthest point in the pictur-esque jagged island of Capri. In the plains and lower hills around the gulf, the marine tertiary strata, which constitute the Subapennine formations, are every where covered or altered by the volcanic products, which, where not recent, belong to the latest tertiary period.

Vesuvius was considered extinct at the commencement of the Christian era ; and a little earlier its crater had been the camp of the brave Spartacus and his revolted slaves. In the year 79 broke out the terrible eruption which destroyed the three cities. The discharge of sand, stones, and blocks of lava, lasting eight days and eight nights, was accompanied by violent falls of rain ; and these, aided by subsequent showers of ashes and exposure to the weather, formed those horizontal beds of loose tuff and lapilli with which Pompeii is covered. Herculaneum was destroyed in the same manner ; but its vicinity to the mountain has exposed it as well to alluvial depositions as to streams of lava, and both of these have accumulated above the buried town to a depth ranging from seventy feet to more than a hundred. After the ninth recorded eruption of the mountain, in 1138, none occurred till 1306 ; upon which again followed a pause of 325 years, interrupted only by one slight outbreak. Since 1666 the volcano has scarcely ever rested more than ten years, and seldom so long ; and we have minute and interesting histories of several

lished in Poggendorff's *Annalen*, and again in the *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, and translated in Jameson's *New Philosophical Journal* for January 1830. An anonymous paper in the same *Journal* for October 1832.

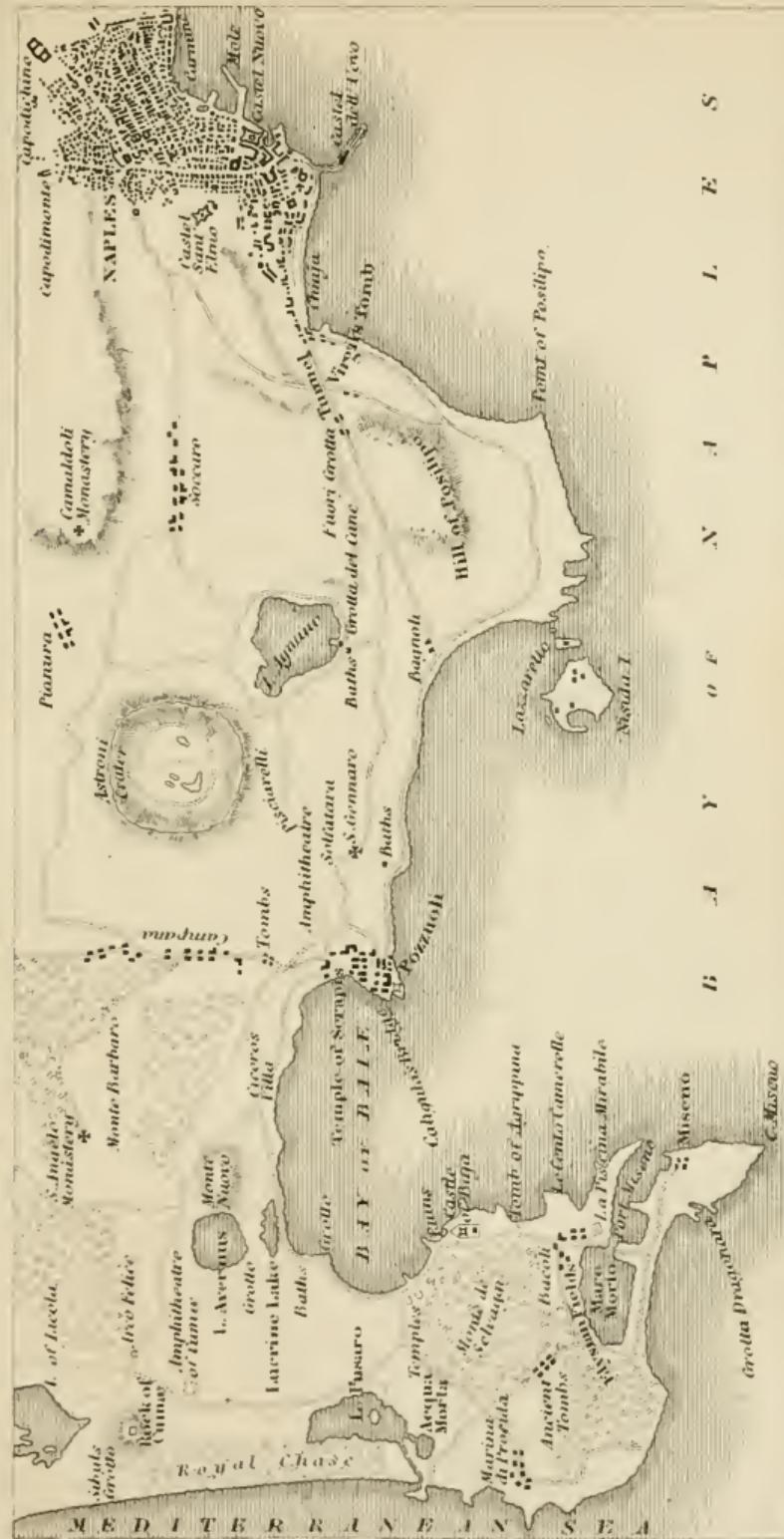
tremendous eruptions during last century. In 1794 a river of lava, from 1200 to 1500 feet broad,* destroyed the unfortunate town of Torre del Greco, killing more than 400 persons.

Before the Christian era, and while Vesuvius was at rest, the isle of Ischia, and perhaps its neighbour Procida, had been the scene of terrific eruptions, which repeatedly drove out the Greek colonists; but, since a period long antecedent to the first eruption of Vesuvius, Epomeus or San Nicolà, the volcano of Ischia, has broken out only once, namely in 1302. Procida seems to be entirely of volcanic structure; but Ischia, besides its huge beds of hard greenish tuff, contains interstratified masses of tertiary clay-marl.

The most remarkable volcanic quarter of Campania, except Vesuvius, is the ground between Naples and Cumæ, which receives the poetical name of the Phlegræan Fields. In that range no fewer than twenty-seven craters have been reckoned, some of which however are doubtful. Of those which are certain, the Monte Barbaro (the ancient Mount Gaurus) is the largest; the hill of Astrone, whose wooded hollow has been converted into a royal chase, is the most picturesque; the crater which afterwards became the Lake Avernus, and has now lost its classic horrors, is the most famous; and the Solfatara, or Forum Vulcani, is, except two or three smaller spots, the only crater which can be considered as now in any degree active. In 1538, however, a new mouth broke out. In a night of September in that year, after twenty earthquakes had occurred within twenty-four hours, the inhabitants of Tripergoli, a little town on the bank of the Lucrine Lake, saw a flaming abyss open between their houses and the suburb and castle.† Discharges of fiery stones drove away them and the people of the neighbouring towns; dark smoke covered the spot four days; the sea retired; and the

* Breislak (an eyewitness), *Voyages Physiques dans la Campanie*, An 9. (1801); tome i. p. 202.

† Sir William Hamilton's *Campi Phlegræi*, Naples, 1776; p. 70.



coast beside Pozzuoli rose more than twenty feet. When the darkness cleared off, the Monte Nuovo, an eminence still on the spot, 440 feet in height, and a mile and a half round, was seen between Gaurus, Avernus, and the sea. The town of Tripergoli was a ruin ; its suburb and castle had sunk into the earth ; the Lucrine Lake was partly covered by the new mountain, and what remained of it had become a shallow pool ; while the Lake Avernus, having ceased to throw out its exhalations, rapidly became the cheerful garden-scene which it is now. The repeated changes of level in the coast of Pozzuoli, of which this was a remarkable instance, have been to geologists the most valuable phenomena of the district.

From vineyards at the root of Vesuvius, cultivated on the rich soil which is formed by its decomposed scoriæ and lavas, we ascend to the Hermitage, which stands on the end of a sloping promontory, along whose ridge we pass through thickets to the base of the cone. We are there at the spot called the Atrio de' Cavalli, or Court of the Horses. On our left, that is, to the north-east, is a stupendous crescent of cliffs, being the mountain called Somma, which, joining itself to lower eminences, forms an incomplete ring round the modern cone of Vesuvius. Those cliffs are believed, with much reason, to be fragments of the ancient cone. Their circuit is composed of strata, deposited horizontally above each other, in which lavas alternate with tufaceous beds ; and this series is crossed by numerous huge fissures, chiefly vertical, filled up with dykes or veins of lava. On the right of the Atrio de' Cavalli is the modern cone, which, if we examine beyond its loose covering of ashes, is found to be composed in the same way as Somma. The immense crater left in the end of the last century was soon filled up, and the summit of the cone became an irregular, rocky, fissured plain. In October 1822 an eruption, lasting twenty days, demolished 800 feet of the uppermost part of the mountain, leaving its highest point but 3400 feet above the sea ; and at the same time there

was opened in the inside of the cone a tremendous chasm, three miles in circumference, and said to have been at first 2000 feet deep. The continual discharges soon filled up this crater likewise, which is that described by most of the late travellers. In February 1834 the centre of the uneven plain, which formed the summit of the great cone, was filled by a higher cone, perforated by an active crater, which almost incessantly threw up jets of red-hot stones and ashes. On the side of the great cone nearest to the Atrio de' Cavalli, but nowhere else, the edge of its summit was walled in by a rugged cliffy range, nearly concentric with the ring of Somma. Towards the opposite side, looking down on Torre del Greco, the plain of the summit gradually sloped downwards, and was dotted with many small, low cones or mounds, several of which smoked, and more than one discharged lava or flame. From many other places, too, on that side of the plain, the lava was bursting out, and flowed over the brink in wide and deep channels, which, seen at night from Naples, were like red veins of fire on the mountain side. The eruption, which had then lasted more than two months, was on the decrease; but in the course of the same year it broke out anew; the aspect of the mountain was entirely changed, and more recent convulsions seem to have altered it still farther.

The most interesting feature in the physical history of the Calabrias, is the frequency of their earthquakes. Ever since the Greeks settled in Italy, those provinces have been desolated by such visitations; and for the last century and a half they have scarcely ever been free from them for more than ten years. The most terrible instances in modern times have been those of 1633 and 1783. In the latter of these, in the Calabrias and in Sicily together, there perished 40,000 persons, besides 20,000 more who died from the diseases and starvation caused by it. The district on the mainland which was affected, is chiefly composed of Newer Pliocene marine strata,

immensely thick, generally of calcareous clay, resembling the corresponding deposit in Sicily, and of a very yielding nature. In a circle extending round Oppido in Calabria Ultra, with a circumference of 120 miles, the whole country was laid waste, and every town and village destroyed. The surface heaved ; hills slid into the plains ; while the quay of Messina sank fourteen inches, other land altered its level still more ; the ground yawned in fissures, which sometimes, after swallowing up houses and men, closed and left no trace, but sometimes opened again and threw out their victims. On the coast of the Straits of Messina vast masses of the sea-cliff fell down, burying gardens and dwellings ; and one such mass, detached from Mount Jaci beside the classical rock of Scylla, rolled by night to the margin of the Mediterranean, which immediately rose with a wave more than twenty feet high. The Prince of Scylla and his vassals were asleep either in fishing-boats or on a low beach, having fled from the falling houses. The wave swept over the whole multitude, returned, dashed up the beach again, and carried into the sea those whom it had first spared. About 1400 persons perished.

THE ITALIAN ISLANDS.

The Italian islands form, geologically as well as locally, two groups. Elba, Corsica, and Sardinia, are essentially primary rocks. Sicily is of a mixed structure, and the differing characters of its several parts are shared by the surrounding isles.

In Elba, the prevailing rocks seem to be granite, clay-slate, and limestone passing into marble.* Corsica is, for the most part, composed of granitic and serpentine rocks. The mineralogy of Sardinia is much more varied ; but its principal members are primitive and transition. In the lower ground, between its three mountain groups, that island is chiefly formed of tertiary strata, calcareous and alluvial ; in the northern half of these districts,

* Official Report ; in Williams' Travels, vol. i. p. 387-389.

trap and other igneous or volcanic substances are frequently found resting on the tertiary limestone ; and a zone of extinct craters has been traced.*

The only primary rocks which are visible in Sicily are masses of granite and gneiss, which fill, at the north-eastern corner, a triangle nearly equilateral. Immediately beyond this group are the only transition-rocks, a chain of wild hills spreading obliquely from Melazzo to Taormina. The secondary rocks, forming two groups,—a red sandstone, and a union of limestone and dolomite,—are very extensive, and interspersed with the tertiary formations over a large proportion of the island. The oldest of the tertiary strata, which, indeed, has not been referred to that period without some hesitation, is the most extensive formation in Sicily, and far the richest in valuable minerals. Its predominating rock is a blueish clay, with several associated beds, which consist of gypsum, of blue limestone, of a white clayey limestone alternating with marl, of a brown slaty marl, and of a calcareous conglomerate. It contains beds of rock-salt, and others of sulphur, which supply the whole of Europe.

The remaining tertiary strata of Sicily have been lately subjected to an analysis still more rigorous. All of them belong to the Newer Pliocene period ; but they follow each other in a distinct sequence, and regularly overlie the older beds. The Val di Noto, in the south-eastern quarter of the island, where the tertiary strata rise 3000 feet above the sea, has been taken as the characteristic specimen of these formations ; and in that district the beds, besides the volcanic rocks, consist of three leading groups :—an argillaceous deposit, containing shells ;—a calcareous sandstone, with associated strata ;—and a very thick bed of limestone, which covers all the others, and, rising very high, forms the stratum that caps the cliff of Castrogiovanni.

The volcanic region of the island is on the eastern

* Smyth's Sardinia, p. 69-71. Lyell's Geology, vol. iv. p. 101. Professor Jameson in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography.

coast. Cape Passaro is a tufaceous rock crowned by the Pliocene limestone of the Val di Noto ; and, in its northern half, the district of that valley has the three members of its Pliocene group interspersed with volcanic rocks. The volcanic formation is interrupted near Lentini by the plain of Catania, whose diluvial loams extend northward to the base of Mount Etna, and are found again in a line between the mountain and the sea. The height of Etna, or Mongibello, as the natives call it in their half-Arabic jargon, has been lately calculated at 10,874 feet. Its circumference is about eighty-seven miles, and its longest ascent, that from Catania, is about twenty-four. The mountain and its roots have a natural division into three zones. In the lowest, which is the fertile region, the decomposed volcanic rocks, mixing with the marine strata, form as usual one of the richest of soils ; and the plains are beautiful and highly cultivated. The second, or woody region, is a belt of forests, with pastures, six or seven miles broad, drawn round the higher part of the mountain, and pressing up among its steep ascents to the height of 6000 feet above the sea. In many places it is romantically picturesque ; and every one has heard of its huge tree, still green, the Chestnut of the Hundred Horses, through the middle of whose trunk, 163 feet in diameter, and split into five smaller trunks, a public road passes. The desert region succeeds, and contains the great cone, which was lately about 1000 feet in height, and nearly 1500 in its longest diameter. On the flanks of the mountain there are at least eighty minor cones, of considerable size, and innumerable hills of scoriæ thrown up from small craters. The great cone is very regular in form, but is cleft on its eastern side, nearly from the summit to the base, by the tremendous chasm called the Val del Bove, an amphitheatre four or five miles wide, and shut in by precipices nearly perpendicular, varying in altitude from 1000 to 3000 feet. The scene is unsurpassed for desolate grandeur,—a vast wilderness of cliffs, assuming the most picturesque forms, and studded at one point with a few

pines and mountain-plants. The surrounding heights, formed of tuffs and lava-beds, are broken up, like Somma and Vesuvius, by numerous vertical dykes of lava, which project in black ledges from the face of the precipice.

Among the islands about Sicily, the Lipari cluster are the most remarkable. They appear to be purely submarine volcanoes. Stromboli, the most famous of them, a conical mountain about 2000 feet high and nine miles round, with 1200 inhabitants, is a tufaceous rock associated with lava in beds and dykes, and has continued to throw out its scoriæ and stones since the earliest age of history.*

But the volcanic zone does not terminate at these isles or at Etna. In the middle of July 1831, half-way across in the deep channel between Sciacca and the convict-isle of Pantellaria (an ancient rock of lava and pumice-tuff), there was seen, by passing vessels, an islet vomiting volcanic ashes. Its appearance had been preceded by violent trembling of the sea and the rise of huge water-spouts. It continued to increase till, in August, it had become two miles round. The crater soon afterwards ceased to discharge any thing but steam : the waves lashed and crumbled down the porous rock ; its crater became a salt lake ; and in December its place was occupied by a sunken reef, over which were nine or ten feet of water.†

MINES AND USEFUL MINERALS IN ITALY AND ITS ISLANDS.

It remains to be added, that the commercial value of Italian minerals does not equal their geological interest.

Metallic ores, altogether wanting in the great Apennine range, are not very plentiful elsewhere. The quantity of the precious metals is trifling, and the few small veins of lead and copper are far from being productive. The iron mines are more so. There are three clusters of them

* Smyth's Sicily, p. 249-278. Spallanzani's Travels.

† Prevost in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*; Avril 1836. Lyell's Geology, vol. ii. p. 146-152.

along the southern declivities of the Lombard Alps, being one in each of the provinces of Como, Bergamo, and Brescia, of which the last two furnish materials for a good deal of native manufacture. These, with some less important veins in the Valtelline, make up in all more than 200 which are at present open and in use. One Piedmontese mine of the same metal, lying in the province of Aosta, is productive ; and ores of iron and lead, very little worked, are plentiful in Sardinia. On the north-eastern side of the Apennines no mining operation of consequence is carried on, except at one place in the district of Piacenza. On the opposite side of the mountains, the iron mines of Tuscany in the mainland are unsuccessful ; and one or two opened in late years seem to have failed equally with the more ancient ones. An old lead mine, a copper mine opened near Pietra Santa in 1754, and a quicksilver vein worked in the reign of Cosmo III., are all long ago abandoned. But the deficiency is made up by the valuable iron which is obtained, chiefly from magnetic ore, in the primary rocks of Rio in the isle of Elba. Between Tuscany and Calabria there is no other open mine of any metal ; but in Calabria are several very rich iron veins. Those of the Sila forest were known in the earliest times ; but government monopolies and high duties checked their usefulness : they have been repeatedly left neglected for long periods, and are now open in no more than two places.

It is said that a bed of coal has been discovered at Arogno, on the frontier between Italy and the Swiss canton of Ticino. Strata of peat are common in many places, abounding especially in the low grounds near the Po ; and this sort of fuel has recently been used in more than one manufactory at Milan.

The most valuable minerals of the Apennines are their marbles, which are used most plentifully in Tuscany and its neighbourhood, the principal quarries being those of Carrara. Tuscany furnishes also alabaster at Volterra in the Maremma. Rock-salt, which is found in the tertiary beds of several districts, is worked for export in the

duchy of Parma ; and there are mines in Calabria, near Cosenza. Gypsum and petroleum exist in several strata.

The useful minerals of Sicily are far more abundant than those of the peninsula. They embrace,—chiefly in the old tertiary marls,—gypsum, native sulphur in immense beds, alum, common salt in great plenty, and several sulphates. Mineral springs naturally result from the combinations in these strata, as well as in similar Subapennine beds on the mainland.

ITALIAN BOTANY AND AGRICULTURE.

The climate of Italy, ranging through ten degrees of latitude, is of course the principal agent in determining the character of its vegetation. But the mineralogical differences of soil modify that influence materially. We cannot expect the same kinds of plants from the arid and chalky declivities of the Apennine, the granitic precipices of the Sardinian mountains, the deep, loamy alluvium of the basin of the Po, and the brown, rich, volcanic soil which clothes the roots of Vesuvius. The exposure, again, is a third agent which often counteracts both the others. The face of the country is remarkably unequal ; and both climate and natural productions must present material dissimilarities, when the lower vale of the Arno, rising little above the level of the sea, and sheltered from all the coldest winds, is compared to the exposed glens which cluster round the feet of the Majella and the Gran Sasso.

Taking into account all these facts, we may divide Italy, in respect of its vegetation, into four regions ; in none of which is it here proposed to do more than to mention a few of the characteristic features, with some of the most important peculiarities in the agriculture.

The first region is Upper Italy ; and this district, both in its plants, and in the agricultural use which is made of them, bears a closer resemblance to more northern countries than does any other Cisalpine tract. The second region, that of the hills in Middle Italy, is best represented by Tuscany. It is the country of the olive. The third region is that of the Maremme of Middle and Lower Italy,

of which the Campagna of Rome is the best example. The fourth region has its natural forces best developed in the volcanic soil of the Terra di Lavoro.*

The Flora of Upper Italy would, if we explored it thoroughly, furnish almost every species which we should discover farther south. But here the characteristic species are rare, compared with those which are common to this region with transalpine countries. We shall best comprehend the botanical geography, if we begin to study it among the Alps, and descend gradually into the plain of the Po.

The line of perpetual frost is found about 8200 feet above the sea. Betwixt that line and an elevation of nearly 6500 feet, is the highest vegetative region, in the hollows of which the snows lie always unmelted, and the plants are only dwarfish herbs and flowers, many of them exceedingly beautiful.

The second, or lower Alpine region, extends downwards to the height of about 5000 feet above the sea. In it we find a much greater variety. The creeping mountain-plants and puny shrubs are diversified by a few trees, the largest of which, however, is only the *Pinus Pumilio*. The trailing Daphne is abundant, and the rhododendron ; and, if we look near the roots of those shrubs, we shall almost fancy ourselves in Scotland when we discover the shining leaves and clusters of our native whortleberry, and the healthy tufts of the crowberry, stealing out from the fissures of the rocks. The hills offer several species of primroses not known with us (*Primula carniolica*, *P. villosa*) ; there are several species of *Senecio*, the solitary flower which blooms amidst the snows of the Andes ; saxi-

* Several valuable papers, and references to Italian botanical works (such as Tenori's, Savi's, Sebastiani's, and Polleni's), will be found in the *Biblioteca Italiana*, especially from vol. xxvi. downwards. Some memoirs in the *Giornale Arcadico*. Sir W. J. Hooker, in *Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography*. Hausmann, after Schouw, in *Jameson's New Philosophical Journal*, vol. xxviii. Sir J. E. Smith's *Tour on the Continent* : 3 vols. 1807.

frages still accompany us ; there grow in abundance the poisonous monkshood, and other species of the same genus ; and here, as among the glaciers of Mont Blanc, the gentian blossoms on the edge of the icy ravines. This region has a few shepherd's huts, inhabited only in summer ; and to it belong the Monte Baldo and similar summits skirting the Italian lakes.

The third region, extending downwards to about 3000 feet, is the most elevated ground that has dwellers for the whole year. It is the habitation of the hardier coniferous trees, which, in some places, form large forests on the hills. In this region, and indeed sometimes higher, we find the Siberian pine, the *Tanne* of the Alpine cliffs in Switzerland. Here, too, we have the beautiful silver fir, the spruce, the larch, and the Scotch pine. At the roots of those trees we still see the aconites, the graceful saxifrages, and the bitter gentian :—to which are here added several *Veronicæ*, both of the tall kind and the creepers ; various species of the little evergreen *Pyrola*, hiding itself in the cavities of the cliffs ; the blue flowers of the *Swertia perennis* ; and, besides the rhododendron of the higher region, extensive thickets of the two usual Alpine species (*R. ferrugineum*, *R. hirsutum*). In this region, too, and more plentifully among the lower hills, we meet with plants not unlike our own, in the Italian species of the broom, the wormwood, the red valerian, and the juniper.

We next descend to a region which, still lying among the mountains, is, in favourable exposures, exactly similar to the southern Apennines. In Eastern Lombardy it is well represented by the Monte Bolca, so famous for its fossils, and may be considered as bounded at its lower extremity by a line drawn at the height of 1500 feet. Here the plants of the highest Alpine pastures nearly disappear, but the less hardy flowers and shrubs continue common. Besides the trailing Daphne, the beautiful *Daphne Laureola* is here frequent, together with our British laburnums and other species of *Cytisus*. A few wild fruit-trees appear in favourable situations, among

which the cherry may be instanced. The distinctive features of the vegetation appear in the woods, which are chiefly composed of beech on the loftier and more exposed hills, and of oak and horse-chestnut (*Ital. Marrone*), in the lower glens. The other trees most abundant are the horn-beam, the linden, the Norway maple, and the *Acer pseudo-platanus*.

The fifth region is that of the hills, descending to about 230 feet above the sea. In the peninsular provinces of Italy this region is that of the olive, which, in the lower and more sheltered spots, gives place to the vine. In Lombardy, however, both these plants are less common : the vine is not successfully cultivated, and there are few large olive-plantations, except in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Como, and again near the Lake of Garda. The fig-tree also occurs, but rather infrequently. The vegetation of the hilly region in the north may be most pleasantly studied on the Berician range, or on the yet more lovely Euganean heights of Padua. Most of the common forest-trees of the southern Subapennine hills may be seen there, though none of them predominates so far as to give a decided character to the landscape. The Italian stone-pine (*P. pinea*), singly or in small clumps, rears its columnar trunk, and spreads out its flat top ; the evergreen cypress shoots up through the brushwood ; the common oak alternates with the vallonia oak, and with two other species more characteristic of Middle Italy,—namely, the Turkey oak (*Q. cerris*, *Ital. cerro*), which here scarcely loses its leaves in winter,—and the magnificent holm or evergreen oak (the Roman ilex, *Ital. ilice*), one of the finest ornaments of the scenery among the valleys of the Apennines. The sweet chestnut, which grows in large woods in Middle and Lower Italy, is comparatively rare in the north ; as are the walnut-tree, and the several species of pistachio. The common maple and aspen are more abundant. Among the smaller trees and shrubs common to Upper Italy with the more southerly provinces, we discover the sweet bay, the laurel of the

poets ; the elegant strawberry-tree (*Arbutus Unedo*) ; the singular Judas-tree (*Cercis siliquastrum*) ; the *Coronilla emerus*, and the evergreen oleander. We find the tree-heath (*Erica arborea*), and two at least of the species of sumach used in tanning (*Rhus Cotinus*, *R. coriaria*). Among the sheltered valleys which surround the lakes, we encounter the *Agave Americana*, and other plants equally characteristic of the south, such as the pomegranate, the almond, the peach ; and in several places, as on the edge of the Lake of Garda at Salò, and on the Borromean Islands in the Lago Maggiore, we see plantations of orange trees and other *Citri*, which, however, require to be placed under cover during the winter. Pear, apple, and plum trees are common.

We have now reached the lowest region, formed by the plain of the Po, which, varying in height and exposure, may be regarded as divided into two terraces, every where united by gentle slopes. On the higher of the two the characteristic forest-vegetation is that of the common oak, the ash, the maple, and the sycamore ; the vine is less infrequent than on the hills, the mulberry-tree is scarcely any where wanting, and the cereal grasses are cultivated in large quantities. On the lower terrace grow multitudes of poplars, belonging both to the white species common in Great Britain, and to the black or Lombardy sort ; the white willow, and the common and hoary alder, form thickets in the moist grounds ; and the marshes furnish, besides rice, a plentiful variety of palustrine and aquatic plants, most of which, such as *junci*, *scirpi*, *confervæ*, *charæ*, and *potamogetæ*, are found in such situations all over Europe.

The agriculture of the plain in the north next claims notice.* By far its most profitable branch is the cultivation of the mulberry-tree for feeding silk-worms.

* For the agriculture of Italy in general, see Chateauvieux, *Lettres écrîtes d'Italie*, 2me edition, 1820. Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture.—For agriculture in Upper Italy in particular, Arthur Young's Travels. Jacob in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, seventh edition, article "Lombardy." Berra, in the *Biblioteca*

The white mulberry is more used than either the black or red, though the last of these kinds is preferred in Lower Italy. Both in Piedmont and in Austrian Lombardy the rearing of those insects has, in many of the districts which occupy the higher parts of the plain, entirely superseded the culture of the vine. But throughout the whole valley of the Po it is on the lower grounds, touching the rivers, that we are to look for the celebrated fertility of the region, and the famed skill of its cultivators.

Wheat and our other northern cerealia are very little grown in Austrian Italy, but rather more in Piedmont. In both regions the food of the people is chiefly supplied by the maize, which, indeed, is cultivated over the whole of the peninsula, and, in the north, furnishes the favourite *polenta* from its yellow flour. Rice, little used till the sixteenth century, is now grown extensively, and would be more so but for the restrictions which the rulers have imposed on it. This grain, an extremely profitable one, but equally unhealthy for the surrounding country and for the unfortunate labourers who wade among the stagnant waters of its fields, is chiefly consumed at home. It is cultivated in Austrian Lombardy on considerably more than 100,000 English acres. The agriculture of Piedmont, which receives high commendations from practical men, is conducted on a regular rotation, including both white and green crops, and is chiefly remarkable for a confidence in the strength of the soil, which encourages the constant cultivation of severely

Italiana, tom. xxix. Dr Bowring's Report on the Statistics of Tuscany, Lucca, the Pontifical, and the Lombardo-Venetian States, 1837. Italien, von Friedrich von Raumer, Leipzig, 1840: (translated, Raumer's Italy and the Italians, 1840).—For agriculture in Tuscany, Sismondi, Tableau de l'Agriculture Toscane, 1801. Tozetti, Voyage en Toscane, 1792.—For Roman agriculture (besides Chateauvieux and Bowring), Reumont, in the Morgenblatt for July and December 1837. Bonstetten, Voyage sur la Scène de l'Æneide, 1805. Venuti's Appendix to Eschinardi, Descrizione dell' Agro Romano, 1750.—For Neapolitan agriculture, Chateauvieux, Raumer, and the British and Foreign Review, No. xviii.—For Sicilian agriculture, Balsamo, Viaggio Fatto in Sicilia, 1809. Sestini, Lettres sur Sicilie et Turquie, 1789. Smyth's Sicily.—For Sardinian agriculture, Smyth's Sardinia.

scourging plants. On the right bank of the Po, eastward from Piedmont, the system seems to continue the same, but with an increasing attention to the breeding of cattle in preference to raising grain ; and in the unhealthy district of the Polesina we see an anticipation of those uninhabitable plains which are so extensive in the rest of Italy.

But all along the left bank of the Po, from the western frontier of Austrian Lombardy to the edge of the Polesina, agriculture is in its highest vigour, and assumes a form which, if it had no other good quality, would excite our interest by its very singularity. The lands are universally dairy-farms, every thing is sacrificed to pasturage, and irrigation supplies the place of manure. The whole plain slopes very slightly from the Alps towards the Po, and the river has a fall which scarcely amounts to a foot per mile. The lakes are the great reservoirs ; and from them and their streams canals are every where led, of which several (and some of these the most ancient) are navigable. Whether it be true or not, that the Romans formed such channels of irrigation in Upper Italy, it is at least certain that such were well known in the dark ages. Works of the sort are described in charters of the ninth century as being then old, and perhaps they might be traced even earlier.* Piedmont has now several very extensive ones, among which are that of Ivrea,—the Naviglio di Bra in the province of Cuneo,—and the canal of Caluso in the district of Chivasso. One or two lines occur in the duchy of Modena ; and the Papal Delegations north of the Apennine have also a few, of which that of Cento, connecting Bologna with Ferrara, is regarded as the most scientific. The Venetian provinces also are full of canals, and all travellers have seen that of Battaglia, with the navigable one which fills the old bed of the Brenta. But the Milanese, in which the system of irrigation originated, is still most

* Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati*, tom. i. : "Canale restaurandum," A. D. 889 (p. 90); A. D. 918 (p. 112) : grants of canals, A. D. 910 (p. 107); A. D. 919 (p. 116); A. D. 973 (p. 180).

abundant in these valuable works. The greatest of them were constructed by the free Lombard towns in their early age of glory. The most ancient, the Naviglio Grande, running eastward from the Ticino to Milan, forty-three miles long, was begun in 1177, completed for irrigation in 1270, and soon afterwards enlarged so much as to become navigable : the latest and most extended, the canal of Pavia, begun in 1814, and opened in 1819, gives a direct communication by water between Milan and Venice. From these, and the innumerable other works of the same sort in Lombardy, the water, which is there a lucrative species of property, is transmitted, in conformity to fixed regulations, through the low lands which lie between the rivers. Small channels, bordered by poplars or willows, divide the whole country into fields of two or three acres. Every where, except in the Mantuan territory, the irrigation produces luxuriant fertility.

The oldest and still most common pasturages are the Perpetual Meadows, which undergo no rotation of cropping, except for the purpose of clearing the ground from weeds and the rough natural grasses. This is usually effected by a course of five years, in which hemp, attaining a prodigious growth, is succeeded by repeated crops of maize and other cerealia ; and the grasses (rye-grass with red clover) laid down with the last crop, form fertile pastures for about fifteen years more, under frequent floodings and a rare application of manure. In this class of lands, those which are watered in winter hold out longest : the summer-watered fields degenerate much sooner, and are falling into disuse. But this permanent system is fast giving place to that of Convertible Meadows, which are subjected to a regular plan of alternate cropping. The usual course seems to be one of six years, in which, for half of the time, the land is prepared for grass by hemp, maize, wheat, millet, rape, beet, or other corn and green crops fitted to clear away weeds. The remaining three years are given to meadow-grass, which thus covers one half of the ground. All

over the north enclosures are general, and have long been so.

We now cross the Apennines, and enter Peninsular Italy. The botanical peculiarities of all the regions included under that name will be most conveniently described in one place : the agricultural differences of the several provinces will then be mentioned successively.

From the north of Tuscany to the south of Sicily, the landscape receives its general aspect from the prevalence of evergreen trees and shrubs ; and those plants of warm climates, whose abundance gives its character to Sicilian scenery, are not wanting even in the more northerly districts, though they are there confined to sheltered situations. The characteristic vegetation of Middle Italy embraces the olive tree, which spreads in wide woods over the hills, with the cypress and the stone-pine, which present themselves every where. Scarcely less prominent, in the whole of this region, are the classical arbutus and ilex, the cork-tree, and the slender myrtle ; and in the more cultivated tracts the scene is filled up by woods of chestnut, walnut, or oak, by vines clustering round trunks of poplar and mulberry, and by the gnarled and picturesque fig-tree. The southern aloe ornaments both the terrace of the villa and the peasant's hut ; the pomegranate is cultivated, as are the lemon and orange. In Lower Italy these plants become more and more common as we advance ; while the pine, pistachio, jujube, poplar, and mulberry, overshadow the vineyards, the olive groves, and the orchards of oranges and lemons. Beside these, on the uncultivated grounds, are thickets of myrtle, arbutus, and oleander ; all of which as well as the trained plants are interspersed with the tamarisk, the almond, the manna-ash (*Quercus ornus*), and the beautiful carob or locust-tree (*Ceratonia Siliqua*). The cotton plant appears about Naples ; at Rome, Terracina, and farther south, the date-palm hangs its canopy of foliage over the cliffs in sheltered nooks ; and in Calabria

the aloe and cactus grow wild among the rocks. But the essential character of the landscape is still the same ; for few of those southern productions are general, and some occur only in particular places. This picture applies only to the plains and the lower hills. At an elevation of 1200 or 1500 feet above the sea, the peculiar tints of the evergreen region disappear. Deciduous oaks and horse-chestnuts become prevalent, interspersed with beech, which, at a height of about 3000 feet, assumes their place. This tree, mixed with some species of pines, reaches a point at which it in its turn fails, and the hardiest of the firs, with creeping plants and Alpine shrubs, form a scattered vegetation, reaching to an altitude which very few of the mountains exceed. Along the greater part of the Apennines, the growth is stunted, and is luxuriant only in the Calabrian chain, whose lower woods of oak, cork-tree, elm, chestnut, hazel, and beech, are succeeded by yews, larches, Scotch firs, and other pines, rising to the snows which crown their summits.

In Middle Italy, the agriculture of Tuscany deserves particular notice, from the success with which it is practised, and from the peculiarities which make it, on the whole, a fair specimen of the art as it exists elsewhere, both in the Papal States and in the Kingdom of Naples. This territory embraces four agricultural regions : the mountainous Apennines ; the hills among their roots ; the arable plains ; and the desolate and unhealthy Maremma. The last of these tracts covers one-half of the duchy ; the Apennines occupy two-sixths ; and the rich cultivation of the hills and plains embraces only the remaining sixth, which scarcely quits the vale of the Arno. On the heights which separate Tuscany from the district of the Po, tillage is scattered very thinly ; and the chief coverings of the mountains, their broad woods of chestnuts, furnish the principal sustenance of the inhabitants. Sheep and goats, or more rarely cattle and horses, are pastured on the natural grasses ; and the marshy grounds, with the acorns of the oak-woods, give nourishment to large flocks of swine. But after autumn the mountains become too

cold for most of the animals ; and their owners, who have hired the hill-pastures for the summer, next hire for the winter the meadows of the Maremma, which, though during the warm months it is uninhabitable, is at other times both healthy and in full vegetation. It was calculated not very many years ago (and the estimate, if right then, must be nearly so now), that this quarter of Tuscany supported every winter 400,000 sheep, 30,000 horses, and a large number of goats and cattle. Almost the whole of the district remains in perpetual pasturage ; but it does not seem to possess that natural fertility which a volcanic soil gives to the neighbouring Campagna of Rome. But there are some fine though neglected woods ; and the larger shrubs, such as the lentisk, the wild vine and oleaster, and the evergreen phillyreæ, being never brought under the axe, grow to the size of trees.

The hills, the second of the agricultural regions, are best fitted for olives, and gardens of this sort cover the greater part of their surface, interspersed with small patches of corn and green plants, mulberry-groves, a few fruit-trees, and some proper vineyards, with rows of vines planted round the fields, and in every other favourable situation. The heights between Siena and Montepulciano produce the best wine in Italy. The walls of stone and turf which, laboriously piled up, divide the Tuscan hills into a succession of terraces, form also little channels which divert the waters of the mountain-streams. They thus at once protect the steep declivities against having their soil washed away, and distribute every where a sufficient irrigation.

The plains, or few level lands for which the valleys of Tuscany leave room on the banks of their rivers, are the most pleasing scene of agricultural industry which Italy has to offer. They are, indeed, less fertile than the great flats of Lombardy, and are cultivated with inferior skill ; but every foot of the soil is put to some use, and the peasant's exertions never flag. The chief produce is corn, for which the ground, usually hand-hoed

once in three years, is cultivated in a rotation embracing alternately wheat or maize and green plants, with extremely rare fallows, and in every case a green crop in the autumn following closely on the grain-harvest. All the fields are enclosed. The straw-manufacture demands so small a space of land to furnish all its materials, that it has no claim to be mentioned in an agricultural sketch. The breeding of silk-worms, a precarious trade, but more profitable of late than it was a few years ago, universally occupies the female peasants ; and the red and white mulberry-trees, on whose leaves the insects are fed, skirt all the little fields. The vines of the plains, which every where attach themselves to the elms, maples, and poplars, furnish a plentiful vintage, producing a coarse and unimprovable juice. The only good Tuscan wines are those of the hills. The thrift of the peasant in this region is evinced by the uses to which he turns the poplars of his vineyard, and even the reed (the gigantic *Arundo donax*), which is planted in the marshes to assist in supporting the vines. The larger branches of the poplar are sold to the peasants of the hills as props for their vineyards ; the small timber is used as firewood ; the cattle, all of which are stall-fed, have, as a part of their food, the poplar leaves, along with those of the elms and reeds. The garden-grounds, cultivated industriously and frugally rather than skilfully, occupy the remainder of the plains.

The irrigation of these flats yet remains to be noticed. As regards the mere operation itself, the little terraced canals of the hills are not less interesting than the complicated systems of watering and discharging conduits (*La gorra* and *Lo scolo*), which, interlacing the Tuscan fields, serve as sufficient fences in a country where there are few thieves and no straying cattle. But one form of the process is very curious :—the *Colmata*, an operation invented in this duchy. A variety of it was introduced into Yorkshire a century ago, and is now, under the name of warping, common on all the tide-rivers in the north-eastern counties of England. The

streams of Tuscany flow in many places higher than the ground on their banks ; and, oozing through the dykes which confine them, they have often rendered large plains marshy and unproductive. The colmata forces the river itself to repair the mischief it has done. The stream must be one which carries down, not gravel or sand, but fertilizing mud. Mounds are built round the field ; the river-waters are admitted into it, and allowed to stagnate till they have deposited their sediment, upon which they are let off at the lower end ; and the same operation is frequently repeated during three or four years. A single flooding sometimes raises the ground three or four inches. The fertility of the new soil is extraordinary : on its first sowing with wheat it has been known to yield a return of twenty-five for one. The operation is obviously expensive, but is not unfrequently executed on a small scale ; while Tuscany presents several magnificent specimens of it. The greatest, which is likewise one of the earliest, occurs in the Val di Chiana, a hollow forty miles in length, which formed in ancient times the Clusian Marsh, and remained in that state till the middle of the sixteenth century. Cosmo de' Medici, on instituting his military order of Saint Stephen, gave to its knights a large portion of the morass. They cleared by the colmata 3000 acres of it ; the example was followed, and the vale of the Chiana is now one of the healthiest and most fruitful districts of Tuscany. A later example is the canal of Pisa, between that town and Leghorn, by which a Carthusian convent drained a large tract of ground. Use was also made of the operation in Leopold's attempts to improve the Maremma ; and the process is effected by means of the canal made by the present grand duke for the same purpose, which, at the southern extremity of the desolate tract, discharges the waters of the Ombrone into the salt-water lake of Castiglione.

On the mountains, the hills, and the cultivated plains of the Papal dominions, agriculture is sufficiently described in the picture now given of the art in Tuscany.

As to most of these districts, indeed, we can neither assert that they are equally fertile with that duchy, nor, except for Umbria and some parts of the eastern provinces, can we repeat the praises bestowed on the industry of its inhabitants. Even in the Pontifical territory, however, there are several tracts, which are not unlike the garden-valley of the Arno. The best wine of the state is made on the northern frontier, round Orvieto. Cotton and saffron are added to the Tuscan articles of produce ; but neither the olive-grounds nor the corn-fields yield any export. The Maremma or Campagna of Rome has features and a cultivation peculiar to itself. Its soil is composed, first, of a portion of the volcanic products, and, next, of the alluvium of the Pontine Marshes. The latter part, a virgin soil, is the most fertile ; but the former likewise is remarkably so. Over the whole plain there are few spots that could not be rendered productive ; and in most of its shallow valleys the vegetation of the wild plants is beautifully luxuriant. The *macchie* (wooded pastures, or wealds), between the Tiber-mouth and Capo d'Anzo, are, in their trees, their brushwood, and the verdure of their turf, the exhibitions of a nature as bountiful as that which blesses the most frequented spots in Italy. But there is little large timber elsewhere in the Roman plain, from the oaks of Monterosi to the skirts of the Alban Mount ; a few ilexes and pines only are seen here and there upon the knolls, and underwood is in most places thickly scattered through the hollows.

The agricultural laws and the state of possession are the causes that have reduced the Roman plain to its present wretchedness. The government survey of 1783 calculated the whole district at 111,106 rubbie, being about 945 square miles geographical, or 555,530 English acres ; but a later survey, begun in 1817 and completed in 1837, gives only 106,910 rubbie, or 534,550 acres. Pius VI. ordered that every year 23,140 rubbie should be cultivated ; but the rule was never enforced even to the extent of so much as one-half. It

is asserted by a very close observer of the country, that, for the thirteen years preceding 1838, the whole land under tillage in a year has never averaged 10,000 rubbie ; and we make a large estimate if we state the whole that is ever broken up at three times as much. The number of landholders was lately 215, about one-tenth of the ground being the property of ecclesiastical bodies. Since the middle of the fifteenth century, the whole region has been constantly let out to speculators called Mercanti di Campagna or di Tenuta, who form a corporation, and are assisted by a government bank. Their present number is between thirty and forty, most of whom, possessing considerable capital, rent more than one immense farm ; paying a fixed rent for each rubbio of cultivable land, while the woods and outfield pasture are thrown into the bargain. The shortest leases extend to twelve years ; the longest are for life. The universal system is, to crop the land at distant intervals, leaving it after each harvest to the natural grasses, which before winter form it anew into thick turf'y pasture. The intervals of cropping appear to differ ; but the quickest rotation that is named presents one wheat crop in four years. Animals for the draught are furnished by the land itself ; and the ploughmen are labourers belonging to Rome, the neighbouring towns, or the Sabine and Neapolitan mountains, who assemble weekly in the city to seek employment.

The latter ploughings are dangerous : the harvest, which occupies some days during the fiercest heats of summer, costs every year an enormous sacrifice of life. On each of the immense farms there is only one house, the half-castellated *casale*, generally a ruined building some centuries old, which lodges the Fattore or resident steward, his herdsmen, and their horses. The peasants from the mountains, chiefly Abruzzesi, male and female, who come down in hundreds to earn a wretched pittance by the harvest-work, toil from early morning till sunset, and then lie down for the night on the bare cold ground. There rises from

the infected earth the clinging white mist which has death in its bosom ; the fires lighted round the sleeping-places are insufficient to scatter it, and the poor mountaineers are thinly clad. Within a week the most sickly drop ; the marsh-fever has infected the majority of the others before the reaping is concluded ; and it attacks almost all the survivors on their way home. More than one-half of those who thus come down from the highlands die in the plain or soon after their return. Those who escape look at their starving children, and prepare to go down again the succeeding year. During this horrible scene, the Campagna has scarcely any other inhabitants than the reapers, except a few of the hardier animals, with their herdsmen, who, left in the pestilential flats to tend their summer pastures, ride over them with long pikes and wrapt in sheepskin cloaks. These men either die in their first year, or, after the seasoning fever, become inured to the climate, which has imprinted its ghastly mark upon them for life.

The stock of the Campagna consists mainly of sheep, which are of two breeds, the small hardy black race called *Nigretti*, whose wool may be seen in the gowns of the Franciscan friars, and the fine white breed of Puglia, of which the plain cannot nourish fewer than 600,000. Horses, once raised with great care and success, are now kept only for the use of the herdsmen, and an occasional sale among the peasants of the hills. Horned cattle, a large grayish-white breed fed wholly for the slaughter-house, are pretty numerous. Goats graze with the sheep, and herds of swine seek sustenance in the woods. The marshes, especially about the mouth of the Tiber, support droves of buffaloes, which are of no use but for the plough or heavy draught. During the summer months, the climate becomes intolerable even to the animals, and the parched ground is insufficient to afford them food. With the exception, therefore, of the swine, the buffaloes, the horses, and a few of the sheep and goats, they are removed, like those of the Tuscan Maremma, to pasturages in the mountains. The usual

resorts of the Roman herds are the nearest heights of the Abruzzo, or the glens of Norcia, around the peaks of the Leonessa and Sibilla.

Agriculture in the mainland provinces of Naples has one prominent feature at least, materially unlike those which we have seen in the Papal State. This is the cultivation of grain-crops under the shade of trees, usually olives, mulberries, or oranges, which are planted thickly in the arable fields of the Terra di Lavoro. The extensive herds and flocks alternate, like those of Rome and Tuscany, between the wide plains of Apulia, or the smaller flats round Pæstum, and the hill-pastures of the Apennines ; and in Calabria, the ancient mountain-forest of Sila is still green with summer-meadows, reposing amidst heights that rise 5000 feet above the sea. In Apulia are immense tracts of pasture belonging to the crown, which are called the Tavoliere, and are let out on a plan similar to that followed by the ancient Romans with their public domain. From some districts, such as that of Pæstum, the periodical emigration is caused by the Malaria ; and the same curse clings to several considerable towns, among which are Manfredonia, Bari, and Brindisi. The cultivation of vineyards is general, but the wine is seldom good ; and the orange and lemon gardens of Sorrento, Reggio, and a few other spots, are not imitated in many quarters. Cotton is grown, but not exported, and the same thing is true of the corn, of which maize is the favourite sort. The only considerable agricultural export is the oil of those olive-gardens which abound every where, except among the mountains, and on some of the eastern plains.

The vegetation of Sicily, though scarcely including any important plant not found in Italy, has an aspect of its own, derived from the prominence of its oriental features. The date-palms, planted in groves in the Saracenic palace-gardens, still grow every where, from Palermo in the north, to the African exposure of Girgenti ; and their general want of productiveness is ascribed only to the neglect with which they are treated. The aloe,

frequently shooting up its gigantic flower-stem, grows wild as a fence round the fields, along with the Indian fig (*Cactus Tuna*), which is propagated by merely sticking a leaf in the ground. The papyrus-rush floats on the waters of the marshy springs ; and the sugar-cane, though now all but lost, was once abundant. Among the heights of Etna, or those in the heart of the island, we find ourselves amidst the vegetation of northern Europe ; and in the valleys, the trees of our own country, such as the sycamore and willow, and the characteristic Italian ones, like the olive, the vine, and the fig, the arbutus and tamarisk, the pine and the cypress,—are mixed profusely with such native foliage as that of the pomegranate, the carob, the manna-ash, and the almond. The peasants grow flax and hemp more willingly than grain. Silk has been long tried with little success, but is now more skilfully managed ; and the barilla, saffron, sumach, cotton, and liquorice plants, furnish articles of commerce. The Sicilian vine is better cultivated than the Neapolitan, and its wine is exported in considerable quantities, furnishing, with olive-oil, one of the chief exports of the country. The Italian malaria is unluckily common in many districts ; and its virulence seems, in some spots, to equal that of the fatal miasma of Pæstum.

The cultivation of grain in this island is neither skilful nor industrious ; but, in spite of errors and neglect, it still supplies the wants of the inhabitants, and usually affords something to their neighbours. Agriculture has undergone no improvement for centuries. The rotation which is almost universal in the Val di Mazzara, and far the most common over the whole island, begins by allowing the land to lie long in natural grass, which is followed by a slovenly fallow ; and then there come, in immediate succession, spring-wheat, and the common winter-wheat. The ordinary corns of Sicily are several species of wheat, with maize, and a little barley. The favourite legumes are common peas and chick-peas. Oats, and other inferior cerealia, are grown very rarely. Till lately,

enclosures were scarcely to be seen, except in the district of Modica ; manures are neglected and ill managed ; and cattle are not bred in sufficient numbers. For half a century at least, there have been loud complaints of the disappearance of the forests, which is usually attributed to the right of the peasants to graze and cut fuel in the woods of most baronies. Leases for fixed rents, sometimes paid in money, but oftener in grain, are more common in Sicily than on the mainland ; and there is a numerous class of petty landholders, who are not in the least superior to the ordinary peasants, either in social position or agricultural skill.

Vegetation in the fertile island of Sardinia, is too like that of Middle Italy to require very special notice. All the usual Italian fruits are common, including the olive. The woods are vanishing. Agriculture is even worse than in Sicily, and will continue to be so until, besides many other reforms, the last vestige of the feudal laws is swept away. The leases are generally short, or the duration dependent on the will of the landlord ; and the tenants are commonly métayers, many of whom, holding leases of two years, and taking two grain crops successively, leave the land so utterly exhausted that it must lie fallow during a similar period. There are large tracts belonging to the communes, which are tilled every third year, being left unenclosed in the interval as common pasture. There is sown nearly half as much barley as wheat. Haymaking is an art which the Sardinian farmers have not yet discovered ; and only seventy years ago an insurrection was excited by the viceroy's attempt to persuade them to sell their superfluous cattle, at fair prices, to the Russian fleet.

CHAPTER XII.

The Statistics of Italy in the Nineteenth Century.

STATISTICS OF THE SEVERAL ITALIAN STATES—The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom—The Sardinian States—The Duchy of Parma—The Duchy of Modena—The Duchy of Lucca—The Grand Duchy of Tuscany—The Papal States—The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—Corsica—CHIEF PARTICULARS FOR EACH STATE—*Administrative Relations*—Provincial and other Divisions—Municipal Institutions—Area and Population—Courts of Law—*Ecclesiastical Relations*—Dioceses and Parishes—Revenues of the National Church—Secular Clergy—Monks—Friars—Nuns—Non-Catholics—*Military Force*—Army—Navy—*Finances*—Revenue and Taxation—Expenditure—Public Debt—*Manufactures and Commerce*—Principal Productions—State of Exports—State of Imports—Shipping—*Education*—Universities—Secondary Establishments—Elementary Schools—SUMMARY OF ITALIAN COMMERCE—*General View and Trade with the British Empire*—Principal Italian Exports—Commerce between the Italian States—The Foreign Markets for Italian Industry—Exports of Italy to Great Britain—Our Silk Trade—Imports from Foreign Countries into Italy—Italian Imports from Great Britain and her Colonies—Shipping employed between the British Empire and Italy—*Commercial Tariffs and Treaties with the British Empire*—The Papal States—Tuscany—Lucca—The Sardinian States—The Austrian Tariff and Treaty—The Neapolitan Treaty—The Sulphur Monopoly—The proposed New Treaty with Naples—*The Italian Corn Trade and Corn Laws*—Present State of the Corn Trade—Retrospect of the Corn Laws—In the Papal States—In the Two Sicilies—In Tuscany—In Austrian Lombardy—In Venice and Genoa—Present State of the Italian Corn Laws.

THIS chapter is designed for describing, with some minuteness, the most prominent of those features in the recent statistics of Italy, which, in preceding parts of

the volume, have been either passed over hurriedly or overlooked altogether. To details regarding the several States in their order, succeeds an outline of Italian commerce at large, embracing in particular the relations between that country and our own.

THE LOMBARDO-VENETIAN KINGDOM.*

This kingdom is divided into two Governments, those of Milan and Venice ; and is again subdivided into seventeen Provinces, of which the government of Lombardy or Milan contains nine,† and that of Venice the remaining eight.‡ These are once more divided into Districts, of which the Lombard provinces contain 127, and the Venetian 98. The lowest territorial denomination is that of Communes, of which there are in all 3087, the Lombard being 2273 in number, and the Venetian 814.

The administration at head-quarters, with that of the provinces, as also the constitution and functions of the representative assemblies or Congregations, both Central and Provincial, were described in the last historical chapter of the present volume.

Of the Communes 30 (being 13 in the Lombard provinces and 17 in the Venetian) are towns having muni-

* *Principal authorities that have been used* :—Serristori, *Saggio Statistico dell' Italia*, Vienna, 1833 ; with its *Primo Supplemento*, Vienna, 1834 ; and *Secondo Supplemento*, Losanna, 1834.—Serristori, *Saggio d'un Atlante Statistico dell' Italia*; 4to, Vienna. 1833.—Tables of the Population, Revenue, &c. of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, drawn up in the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of the Crown ; Part III., for the years from 1820 to 1833, printed in 1834 ; and Part VI., for 1836, printed in 1838.—Dr Bowring's Report on the Statistics of Tuscany, Lucca, the Pontifical, and the Lombardo-Venetian States ; presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty ; printed in 1837.—Italien : Beiträge zur Kenntniss dieses Landes, von Friedrich von Raumer; Leipzig, 1840 : (Translated ; Raumer's Italy and the Italians, London, 1840.)—Biblioteca Italiana, tom. xlvi.

† Milan, Mantua, Cremona, Sondrio (the Valtelline), Como, Bergamo, Brescia, Pavia, Lodi.

‡ Venice, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Rovigo, Treviso, Belluno, Udine.

cipal magistracies and councils ; 915 (432 Lombard and 483 Venetian) have communal councils, but the place of the magistracy is supplied by three deputies in each. The rest have no councils, but in them likewise three deputies are elected triennially by the Convocato, or meeting of all landholders rated in the tax-book of the commune. The councils, and also the convocati where there are no councils, are empowered to examine the tax-rolls, to audit the accounts of the deputies (who, in the absence of a magistracy, are the administrators), and to deliberate on questions relating to the communal property and officers ; the convocato meeting for these purposes twice a-year, and the decision being in certain cases reviewable by the Provincial Congregation and the Delegate or governor of the province. On the first formation of the communal councils after the Restoration, all their members were named by the government ; but now one-third of them go out every year, and their places are supplied from a list of twice as many names as there are vacancies, which is made up by the council itself. The provincial congregation makes the election from this roll, their choice being subject to the approval or rejection of the delegate. The Podestà or mayor of every commune, and the magistrates in the thirty communes that have an urban organisation, hold their places for three years, and are selected by the government from lists submitted by the councils. All decisions of the magistracies are appealable by the minority to the provincial congregation, and thence to the delegate ; and the magistrates cannot authorize any expenditure which has not been already regularly voted by the convocato and the council. The magistrates vary in number from four to six according to the population of the town. In the cities of Milan and Venice, the council has sixty members ; in the chief cities of the provinces it has forty ; and in the other communes possessing such a board, it has thirty. Two-thirds of the councillors must be owners of real property, whose names are among the hundred that are rated highest on

the tax-roll ; but for Milan and Venice there is required a special qualification of ownership to the amount of 2000 crowns. It is said that, in the rural communes at least, the inhabitants at large take very little interest in public affairs, and that the convocati in particular are for the most part very thinly attended ; a state of facts from which the partisans of Austria infer general satisfaction with the government, while others have better reason for attributing it to causes widely different.

According to the measurements laid down in the topographical map published by the authorities at Milan in 1833, the superficial area of the kingdom, in Italian or geographical square miles, is 13,216. In 1807 the population was 3,891,143 ; in 1815, 3,959,347 ; and in 1838, 4,568,000. These figures give for the last of the years a population of 346 to an Italian square mile.* The births in 1832 were 170,820, of which 6405 (or nearly 1 in 27) were illegitimate. In ten years, ending with 1827, the number of suicides in the Milanese provinces was 369. About one-seventh of the inhabitants live in towns ; and nearly 400,000 of them are proprietors of land.

At the head of the judicial establishment stands the Senate of Verona, the supreme tribunal of the whole kingdom. The next in rank are the two courts of General Appeal and Superior Criminal Justice ; of which one, for the Lombard provinces, sits at Milan, and the other is placed at Venice. For each of the two provinces attached to those cities, there are three courts of the First Instance, a civil, a criminal, and a mercantile. For each of the other provinces there is one court of First Instance, which sits in the chief town and decides in all the three kinds of questions. The lowest class of courts are the local tribunals called Preture, of which there are 133.

The state of crime may be estimated, in some degree, from the following return of the number of persons said to have been convicted in the Government of Milan, in the course of ten years. In 1829, they were 1263 ; in

* The population of Great Britain may be taken at from 250 to 260 in the square mile (geographical).

1830, 1342 ; in 1831, 1371 ; in 1832, 1445 ; in 1833, 1478 ; in 1834, 1163 ; in 1835, 864 ; in 1836, 1390 ; in 1837, 1523 ; in 1838, 1190. Of the convictions in 1838, there were, for high treason, 4 ; for open violence, 59 ; for abuse of official authority, 1 ; for coining, 48 ; for violence to women, 4 ; for murder and manslaughter, 2 ; for wounding, 9 ; for dangerous exposure of children, 4 ; for arson, 22 ; for theft and breach of trust, 867 ; for robbery, 148 ; for swindling, 21 ; for assisting criminals, 1.

Quadri, writing in 1827, calculated that in the Venetian government there was one foundling for every $47\frac{4}{5}$ births; and in the city of Venice itself, the number maintained was lately stated at 3338, while for all the Venetian provinces the number was 10,625, in a population of 2,000,000. In 1831, when in the whole province of Milan (containing about 470,000 souls) there were 1576 illegitimate births, no fewer than 2625 infants were deposited in the foundling-hospital of the city; and in 1836 the number was 2963. It follows, therefore, that many of these were lawful children.

The kingdom contains two archbishoprics (that of Milan and the patriarchate of Venice), and 18 bishoprics. It is divided into 4483 parishes, of which the Lombard provinces possess 2363, and the Venetian 2120,—the average population of a parish being thus 1019. In 1831 the secular priests amounted to about 17,000. In the same year the number of the monastic clergy was 1360, in 53 convents; being 23 religious houses in Lombardy, with 100 monks and 500 nuns, and 30 in the Venetian provinces, with 360 monks and friars, and 400 nuns. With the exception of five of these establishments, which are situated in the Venetian provinces, and occupied by Capuchins and Minor Observantine friars, all of them are exclusively employed in the education of youth or in offices of charity. There are about 1000 Protestants, chiefly at Venice, Bergamo, and Milan ; 170 Armenians and 400 Greeks (both at Venice) ; and 6800 Jews.

The army maintained in Austrian Italy is estimated at 30,000 men, almost all foreigners. In the kingdom

itself native troops, bound to serve eight years, are raised by conscription, and the period of liability to be drawn extends from the age of twenty to that of twenty-five. The contingent for 1834 was 6006 men, of whom 3226 were raised in the Lombard provinces ; but in 1837 there were called out no more than 1924. The Austrian fleet for the Mediterranean is stationed at Venice, and lately consisted of three frigates, five brigs, two sloops of war, and a number of smaller vessels.

The funded debt of the treasury is somewhere about three millions sterling. Its annual revenue is stated variously ; and Italian authorities assert, perhaps with exaggeration, that it ranges from £4,000,000 to £4,800,000. The sum thus said to be raised would give from 17s. 6d. to 21s. as the average contribution paid annually by every individual.* The Lombard communes have also co-operated actively with the government in public improvements, and expended on roads, between 1814 and 1829, about £680,000. Besides the state-monopolies, and the ruinous lottery, the most objectionable point in the internal burdens is the principle upon which the taxes on consumption are arranged. In walled towns almost all the necessaries of life are subject to such a tax, varying in amount according to the size of the several places, which are divided into four classes with reference to this end. In the country generally, the consumption-tax is not indeed levied on all articles, nor exacted from the inhabitants at large ; but

* In Great Britain the taxation falls little short of two pounds for every individual, besides poor-rates. The estimate in the text is that made by Serristori ; but the returns collected by our own government differ widely from it ; and although these exclude the large receipts drawn from the predial impost or land-tax, it seems impossible to reconcile the two statements. In the English return (the sum of which is £536,112), the customs are given at £201,715, the taxes on consumption at £129,678, and the government monopolies at £157,971, of which the salt produces £100,221, the tobacco £51,562, and the saltpetre and gunpowder £6188. The remainder of the sum, being £46,748, is made up from land-revenues, appanage, taxes on hypothecs and stamps, consolidated taxes, woods, and crown-property. See Board of Trade Papers, Part VI.

it is paid for certain articles by those who deal in them, such as bakers, butchers, wine-merchants.

Manufactures and Commerce.

The only mineral operations of any consequence, are carried on at the iron mines in the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, and Como ; but neither these nor the lead and copper ores in the same quarter furnish any export worth notice. The same remark may be applied to the Lombardy hemp, and the excellent flax of Cremona. Indeed the chief, and perhaps the only increasing article of export, is raw silk ; and the quantity of this product, raised in the kingdom, has doubled in twenty years. From 1825, when its amount was only 3,469,475 Milanese lbs., it rose in 1832 to 4,530,555 lbs., and in 1833 to 6,164,150 lbs., besides the waste, which, in the last of those years, amounted to 1,214,510 lbs. The silk exported in a raw state is worth about £3,500,000, while the manufactured silk sent from the country is stated at the annual value of from £500,000 to £600,000. In 1828 the number of looms was 2349, and that of the work-people 3276 ; while the preparation of the raw silk employed more than 100,000 persons.* In the plains of the Po rice is grown annually to the value of about a million sterling, of which a part is exported ; and in 1824, the Lombard cheese, improperly called Parmesan, sent out for foreign use, was not worth less than £80,000, without reckoning the quantity furnished to the Austrian dominions in Germany.

The state of the commerce of Austrian Italy in the Mediterranean may be partially gathered from the official returns made up by the English Board of Trade.

These give, in the first place, the following approximate statement of the chief articles of merchandise imported into, and exported from, the Venetian provinces, in the years 1829, 1830, and 1831.†

* Compare Serristori with the Board of Trade Papers, No. 6.

† See Board of Trade Papers, Part III. ; No. 439, p. 598-615

In 1829, total value of imports (excluding imports through Trieste), £438,529 ; in 1830, £555,413 ; in 1831, £676,264. In 1829, total value of exports (excluding Trieste), £379,980 ; in 1830, £356,444 ; in 1831, £350,794. Among the articles principally making up the export for 1831 in this estimate appear the following :—Grain (wheat, maize, and rice), £63,129, which sum however is met by an import of grain to the value of £166,950 ; cotton goods, £17,769 ; hemp, raw £2576, in ropes, &c. £476, in cloth, &c. £19,327 ; iron, in bars and plates £1979, in steel £3031, manufactured £390 ; silk, raw £14,991, sewing silk £40,067, spun silk £25,078, manufactured £15,017 ; woollen manufactures, £29,799 ; paper £81,282 ; books, £5352. The principal articles of the imports are coffee, cotton, flax-yarn, firewood, grain, hemp, indigo, lambs'-wool, olive oil (£214,051) ; salted and stock-fish (£43,778) ; sugar (£37,207), &c. From Great Britain the imports into the free port of Venice amounted in 1830 to about £96,300, and in 1831 to about £114,370, the rise being chiefly caused by an increased importation of iron and sugar.*

According to the Board of Trade Papers,† the ap-

* The items of the Consul's approximate statement for Venice in 1831 are the following :—Coffee, £996 ; cotton wool, £1526 ; dye-woods, £642 ; herrings, £3736 ; pilchards, £16,686 ; indigo, £1212 ; iron, £8135 ; cotton goods, £50,000 ; sugar, £30,483 ; tinned plates, £854 ; in all, £114,370. It may be observed that the Consul's Table of Exports, already cited from, contains several articles which are not the produce of the country, and merely pass through Venice on account of its privilege of free port, which came into operation in February 1830. The privilege embraces three points :—1. All goods, except those which form the government-monopolies, enter and leave the harbour without payment of any duty : 2. There are bonded warehouses for goods that are to pass into or through the Austrian States : 3. Certain articles manufactured in Venice pay, on importation into Austria, no higher duty than that which would have been levied on the raw materials. The trade of Venice has increased somewhat since this grant ; but its wretched state may be gathered from the accredited fact that there are still in the city 40,000 persons at least, and perhaps considerably more, who in one shape or another receive public charity. About 800 of these are patricians.

† Part VI., No. 180, p. 302-326 ; Lombardo-Venetian States.

proximate value of the merchandise imported into Venice in 1836 was (besides imports from Trieste) £489,875 ; of which sum the imports from England made up £101,435 ; namely, cassia lignea, £60 ; coffee, £3800 ; herrings and pilchards, £31,831 ; iron, £2766 ; sugar, £12,978 ; manufactured goods, £50,000.—In the same year there were imports from Trieste to the value of £592,096 ; making the whole imports of Venice in 1836, to be £1,081,971. Of these imports, £92,629 were made in British vessels ; and in the same year, the exports from Venice in such vessels amounted to £23,192, of which £20,700 were carried to England ; but to this last sum must be added, of exports to our country, £85,000, being £75,000 by way of Trieste, and £10,000 direct in foreign bottoms. The total exports from Venice to Great Britain in 1836 were thus (approximately) £105,700.

The English official returns, in giving the arrivals and clearances of ships at the port of Venice for the years 1829, 1830, and 1831, seem to omit the fishing vessels and other small coasters, probably all those which, being under 100 tons burden, do not enter the Austrian registers. The list is as follows :—In 1829 ; arrivals, vessels 174, having a tonnage of 39,502 ; departures, vessels 144, tonnage 27,506 : In 1830 ; arrivals, vessels 254, tonnage 45,688 ; departures, vessels 176, tonnage 30,503 : In 1831 ; arrivals, vessels 255, tonnage 49,868 ; departures, vessels 220, tonnage 42,232. It is stated that the shipping belonging to the port had varied little during the ten years preceding 1833, and was in that year as follows : Employed in foreign trade, ships 104, tonnage 21,841, number of men, 1114 ; coasters, vessels 107, tonnage 8208, men 646 ; together, vessels 211, tonnage 30,049 ; crews 1760. The Austrian merchant-fleet amounted in 1836 to between 800 and 900 vessels employed in foreign trade, with a tonnage of 200,000, and manned by about 16,000 mariners, while the coasters were about 200, averaging 40 tons each. A large proportion of all these ships have been built at Venice and Chioggia.

Notwithstanding the attempt to save Venice by erecting it into a free port, the returns for its rival Trieste prove that there is a great and increasing balance of trade in favour of the latter. Serristori's returns state the importation into Trieste at a sum equal to nine millions sterling, being six millions received by sea, and three millions overland ; and later authorities give a continued increase, both in trade and shipping.* To a company at that place belong almost all the steamers which now keep up a communication along the Mediterranean, from the head of the Adriatic to Constantinople and Egypt. If we take into account the smaller steam-boats, which make short and constant trips to Venice and other points on the neighbouring coast, we shall find that vessels of this sort compose nearly a tenth of the whole tonnage reported, in the custom-house books to have entered the port of Trieste in 1838.

Education.†

The kingdom possesses two universities. The best is that of Pavia, founded in 1361, which at present has 38 professors, with 3 adjuncts, and 11 assessors. It wants the theological faculty ; but in 1837 its students were 1307, being in philosophy 287, in law 438, and in medicine 582. The second academical establishment is the once celebrated university of Padua, founded in the year 1221, which, besides deputies and assistants, has 35 professors, and in 1831 numbered in its four faculties 1454 students. The former is considered the best in Italy, and is especially valuable as a school of medicine, in which science it lately ranked among its professors Scarpa and Volta.

* Trieste, which is in the Austrian kingdom of Illyria, does not fall within our limits, but is mentioned by way of comparison.

† Quarterly Journal of Education, Nos. V. VI. and XVI. Serristori. Raumer. Valery; Voyages Historiques et Littéraires en Italie, pendant les années 1826-7-8 : Paris, 1831-33 ; 5 tomes. Foreign Quarterly Review, January 1838.

Its medical course lasts five years ; while that of law and political science extends to four. Besides the treatises on Austrian jurisprudence, those on the civil and ecclesiastical law, and the French code of commerce, are text-books. The faculty of philosophy and literature has an obligatory course of two years, which qualifies for degrees, and embraces instruction in religion, logic, metaphysics, ethics, mathematics, Latin philology, and experimental philosophy. This university costs annually about £18,000, a sum which is partly paid by the treasury, partly by the communes, and partly from the proceeds of legacies. The salaries of the professors vary from £120 to £240. At both universities the lectures are gratuitous ; but small fees are paid at matriculation, and large ones by such students as take degrees.

The secondary education for males is furnished by twelve imperial lyceums, fifteen imperial gymnasia, twelve communal gymnasia, fourteen government boarding-schools, and thirty-eight private boarding-schools licensed by the authorities. These establishments give instruction to about ten thousand pupils ; and the whole course, which lasts six years, must be preceded by attendance at the elementary schools, and is indispensable to reception at the universities. Every imperial gymnasium has a vice-director, a prefect, and six professors. The course consists chiefly of four classes of Latin, and two of humanities or rhetoric ; but instruction in mathematics, physics, geography, history, and Greek, forms a part of the daily work, and there are also lessons in Italian, in religious knowledge, and (if asked for) in German. In the lyceum, which is higher in its purpose, the course is exactly that of the philosophical faculty in the universities. The education of the upper class of females is imparted in thirty-four boarding-houses, several of which are nunneries.

But the most interesting branch of the Austrian system of education is the plan of the elementary schools, which, though compulsory and arbitrary, like that of Prussia, yet promises infinite good. It was introduced into

the hereditary provinces by Maria Theresa, but not transferred to Italy till 1821. All male children between six and twelve years of age must attend the elementary schools, and, failing obedience to this rule, the parents are fined unless they can prove that the child is educated elsewhere. Small fees are payable to the commune by the pupils, unless poverty is established. The teachers receive salaries, and before appointment are strictly examined, and must have attended the normal schools, of which there is one in every province. The elementary seminaries are vigorously superintended; the General Direction resting with Boards seated at Milan and Venice. A Provincial Board inspects the schools in every province, and each of the 225 districts has also its board, some of whose members examine the lists of children fit for instruction, enforce attendance, and oversee the management generally. Besides all this, the schools of every commune are visited by the priests of the parishes which compose it.

In 1822, the Lombard Provinces contained 2630 elementary schools, of which 2138 were for boys, and 492 for girls. The number of teachers was,—of males 2073, of females 461 : the number of pupils,—boys 81,241, girls 26,524; together 107,765.—In 1830, the number of local schools was 3378, of which 53 were normal male schools, 14 normal female schools, 2267 inferior male schools, and 1044 inferior female schools. The number of male teachers was 2169, of females 1076 ; the number of male pupils was 107,457, of females 48,135 : together 155,592.—In 1832, the whole number of schools was 3535, being male schools 2336, female schools 1199 ; of which numbers the normal schools, male and female, were 71, and the inferior schools 3464. The number of male teachers was 2269, of females 1215. The male pupils were 112,127, the females 54,640, or, together, 166,767. Besides these, 22,112 children and youths were taught in the holiday schools of the priests, private seminaries, hospitals, and the like, making the whole number of pupils in the Lombard provinces 188,879, or

about one-twelfth of the population.* Since that time the system has continued to spread. In 1835, the elementary schools were 4422, including 701 private ; in 1836 they were 4470, and in 1837 they amounted to 4531. In the last of those years there were many communes which had several such establishments, and no more than sixty-six that wanted them altogether. There were lately also infant schools, under ninety-three teachers, and attended by 2026 children.

In the Venetian provinces the system has been grounded more slowly, and the details are not so fully published. In 1824, the inferior elementary schools were frequented by 62,341 children. In 1830, these seminaries were in all 1300, attended by 70,827 pupils, being 65,267 boys, and 5560 girls. In 1834, they amounted to 1438, with 81,372 scholars.

In 1830, the total number of pupils attending the elementary schools throughout the kingdom was thus 226,419, or one-nineteenth of the gross population, a proportion which must since have considerably increased. Their expenses for that year amounted to £153,000, of which £51,000 were defrayed by the communes, and £102,000 by the government.

THE SARDINIAN STATES.[†]

The dominions of the King of Sardinia consist of 51 provinces in all. Those on the mainland are 40, and are divided into 2719 communes ; but eight of these provinces, containing 629 communes, belong to Savoy. The remaining 32 provinces, forming 2090 communes,

* In Scotland the children attending school are about one-ninth of the population. Throughout Europe, the whole number of the children between six years of age and twelve, is supposed to be about one-sixth of the population.

[†] Principal authorities :—Serristori, *Saggio Statistico*, with its Supplements. Board of Trade Papers, Part III. and Part VI. Smyth's *Sardinia*. Raumer's *Italy and the Italians*. Appendix No. 29 to Macgregor's Report on the Commercial Statistics of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, August 1840.

are within the proper frontier of Italy, and are composed of Piedmont, the duchy of Genoa, and the county of Nice. The island of Sardinia contains 11 provinces, subdivided into 32 districts, and 360 communes.* The act of the Congress of Vienna, which transferred Genoa to the King of Sardinia, preserved the elective colleges of the republic, but confined their functions to the approval or rejection of new taxes proposed by the government. The island of Sardinia still possesses its ancient national assembly of the Stamenti. With these exceptions the monarchy is unlimited, and no charter has been granted since the Restoration. Every province is administered by a Royal Intendent.

Turin, which purchased favours of old by obedience,—Genoa, which has extorted concessions recently through fear,—and two or three other towns,—have special charters, giving them a municipal constitution closely oligarchical. In Turin there is a body of sixty decurions (being thirty nobles, and thirty not noble), who are chosen for life by a complicated series of votes, to which they themselves and the Congregazione or Magistracy are the only parties. The Magistracy, consisting, besides other

* I. SAVOY : *Provinces*; Savoy Proper, (chief town, Chambéry): the Tarantaise (c. t. Moutiers); the Maurienne (S. Jean); Haute Savoie (Hôpital): the Génévaïs (Annecy); Carouge (S. Julien); Faussigny (Bonneville); the Chablais (Thonon); 8 provinces, 629 communes. II. PIEDMONT : *Provinces*; Aosta. Susa, Valsesia (c. t. Varallo), Pallanza, Ossola (Domodossola), Biella, Novara, Vercelli, Lomellina (Mortara), Casale, Turin, Pinerolo, Saluzzo, Cunio, Tortona, Voghera, Alessandria, Asti, Mondovi, Alba, Ivrea, Acqui: 22 provinces, 1625 communes. The old sovereignty of Montferrat forms part of the provinces of Acqui and Casale. III. DUCHY OF GENOA : *Provinces*; Genoa, Albenga, Savona, Chiavari, Levante (c. t. Spezia), Bobbio, Novi; 7 provinces, 271 communes. IV. COUNTY OF NICE : *Provinces*; Nice, San Remo, Oneglia; 3 provinces, 194 communes. The petty principality of Monaco, preserved by the Congress of Vienna as an independent state, under the protection of Sardinia, which has the right of garrisoning it, is enclosed between the territories of Nice and the sea. V. ISLAND OF SARDINIA : *Provinces*; Cagliari, Isili, Sassari, Iglesias, Nuoro, Alghero, Cuglieri, Ozziari. Busachi, Lanusei; 10 provinces, since 1821; Tempio, the eleventh, since 1833.

officers, of two Syndics and ten Councillors, holding place for a year, is named by the decurions, whose nomination is not dependent on the king's approval. In Genoa, whose municipality was constituted by laws of 1814 and 1815, there is a Great Council of forty decurions (half nobles, half merchants and other citizens), who were named in the first instance by the crown, but have since filled up their own vacancies. This body meets but three times a-year; and, though it possesses theoretically the right of deliberating on all important civic matters, its only real business is that of election. It selects ten ordinary councillors, and several office-bearers; and these, with the two Syndics and a Royal Commissioner (who is of the quorum), compose the Little Council. This board administers the police, the charities, and the municipal revenue. The Syndics, one noble and one plebeian, are chosen by the king from the names which stand highest on secret lists handed in by the decurions. Their term of office is three years, but of the other members of the Little Council one-half go out annually; and its meetings are held once a-month, or oftener if required.—Throughout the kingdom generally, the Municipal system is entirely different from that which prevails in those two cities. It is regulated by a series of laws, commencing in 1738, but revised in 1815 and 1838. Every town has a Syndic as its chief magistrate, with three, five, or seven councillors according to its size. For supplying every vacancy, a special council of electors, constituted differently in different places, but every where nominated, in point of fact, by the provincial intendant, suggests three names for the selection of the government: and the spirit indicated in this mock-election pervades the whole scheme of rules for the municipal administration, which leave the civic officers no power to take any step of importance without reporting and receiving instructions. In Sardinia, the seven principal towns have magistracies, every one of which is composed of six members, and is divided into two sections, each having its head, called Capo Giurato. Every commune

has a Syndic, and a council of three, five, or seven members.

The government-survey of the continental provinces has never been completed, or at any rate its results have not been published ; and geographers differ in their measurements both of those provinces and of the island. The estimate adopted by Serristori gives 15,168 Italian square miles, as the superficial area of the mainland territory, of which Savoy makes up more than one-fifth. The latest authorities assign to the island of Sardinia a superficies of 7264 Italian square miles. In 1833 the population of the continental provinces was estimated at 3,976,980 (of which number about 500,000 belong to Savoy), and that of Sardinia at 507,820. This gives for the mainland districts a ratio of about 262 persons for every square mile ; while in Sardinia there are no more than 69 for the square mile, making by far the thinnest population in Italy, and one of the thinnest in Europe. Accordingly, the gross population of the kingdom in 1833, including Savoy, was 4,484,800.* The proprietors of land are about a fifth of the number. In the whole monarchy, in 1835, the foundling hospitals contained 18,365 children, including 3480 who had been deserted in that year. In the province of Turin, whose population is 315,000, the number of foundlings is about 500 annually. In that of Genoa, containing 200,000 souls, there were found alive in 1835, 275 deserted children, while 163 more were discovered dead ; and in the same province there was one foundling for every eleven births.

On the mainland there are four Supreme Tribunals, called Senates, placed at Turin, Chambery, Nice, and Genoa ; and subordinate to these is a Tribunal of Prefecture in the chief town of every province. There are eight Tribunals of Commerce, and 408 Inferior Local Courts (*Giudicature di Mandamento*). The administration of justice in the island is subject to the Supreme

* These are Serristori's numbers ; but in estimating the present population of this kingdom, the several geographical and statistical writers vary to the extent of more than half a million.

Council of Sardinia placed at Turin, whose resident organ is the Court called the Magistrato della Reale Udienza at Cagliari. There are two Secondary Tribunals, seated at Cagliari and Sassari, and two Tribunals of Commerce in the same towns. The inferior local establishments in the island used to be of two kinds : the royal and baronial courts judging in the causes of persons subject to the feudal jurisdictions, while the tribunals of prefecture determined the few causes which were exempted from that interference. During the last few years, however, the king has maintained a constant struggle against these baronial rights ; and a series of laws has been passed for the avowed purpose of utterly extirpating feudalism. The first edict appeared in 1833 ; another in 1836 annulled the feudal jurisdictions ; and others, dated in 1838, abolished all feudal rights whatever, commuting the services into money payments. A law of February 1839 professed to lay down general principles for peremptorily completing the task ; but, before stating feudalism to be extinct in Sardinia, we wait to be assured that personal interests and local jealousies have not been allowed to cripple those wise measures, as they have already so often baffled attempts of the same sort.

The mainland contains four archbishoprics (one of which is Savoy), 26 bishoprics, and 3659 parishes. Sardinia has three archbishoprics, eight bishoprics, and 392 parishes. The kingdom thus contains 4051 parishes, and the cures average 1107 souls. The clergy are a large body, but their number is not exactly known. The number of convents, however, on the mainland is 301, comprising 69 nunneries ; and 117 in Sardinia, comprising 13 nunneries ; the total number of religious houses being thus 418. The revenue of the secular clergy in the continental provinces is not ascertained. In 1814, to indemnify the convents for the lands sold by the French, the government gave to them property said to be worth nearly four millions sterling. The fixed ecclesiastical revenues in Sardinia have never been alienated, and are

worth annually £38,000, of which about £10,500 belong to the secular priests. The Waldenses in the valleys of Lucerna, Perusa, and San Martino, forming 34 communes, amounted in 1833 to 22,845 souls. The Jews, who are to be found on the continent only, number 7200.

The army on the peace establishment is stated to be 40,000 strong, but admits of being at once increased to 100,000. On the mainland, the troops are raised by an enforced conscription between the ages of 18 and 24, the soldier being obliged to serve eight years in the line, and eight more in the provincial militias, which consist of 40 battalions. In Sardinia, where also there is a militia, the enlistment is voluntary. The navy lately consisted of four ships of the line, five frigates, and eight brigs, corvettes, and other smaller vessels.

In 1834, the revenues of the state were reported at £2,800,000, of which £2,688,000 were derived from the mainland, while Sardinia furnished only £112,000, being considerably less than the expenses of its administration.* In the same year the consolidated national debt of the continental provinces (including a loan of twenty-seven millions of francs taken in 1833), was £3,480,006. The debt of the island is trifling. The budget of the kingdom for 1839 gave the revenue, in round numbers, at a sum equal to £2,944,000, stating the expenditure at £2,978,960 ; but it is understood that the receipts are always considerably above the estimate, and that therefore there would be a surplus in favour of the treasury. The

* Captain Smyth (*Present State of Sardinia*, p. 127), gives returns for 1824, which confirm this estimate of Serristori. The revenue of Sardinia for 1824 is stated at a sum equal to £109,939, of which £40,250 form the direct revenue, and £69,689 the indirect and fluctuating revenue. The items of the direct revenue for 1824, being almost wholly taxes granted by votes of the parliament, are these:—Donatives ordinary, extraordinary, and to the queen, £26,166 ; for posts, roads, and bridges, £3570 ; for internal administration, £4097 ; subsidy from the ecclesiastics, £684 ; forage and royal patrimony, £5733. The items of the indirect revenue were the following :—The customs, £35,160 ; salt-works, £9498 ; tobacco, £16,168 ; gunpowder, £1512 ; mines, £893 ; fisheries, £4303 ; registers, fines, and casualties, £2155.

customs and other indirect taxes (which include a moderate impost on consumption, levied without distinction in country as well as town), made up about seventeen-thirtieths of the whole sum, and were collected at an expense of about 20 per cent. Of the direct taxes, the principal are, a land-tax levied on a very imperfect roll; a personal tax, from which the poorest class are exempted; and a furniture-tax, assessed according to the rent. Fully a third of the revenue arose from these branches, the collection of which cost nearly 25 per cent. Not much less than half of the estimated expenditure was applied to military and naval purposes.*

Manufactures and Commerce.

In Savoy and Piedmont silver is found to a very trifling amount, but of lead as much as 2600 cwt. annually. In the province of Aosta, there is an iron mine which yields 23,000 cwt. every year. Salt-works are carried on in Sardinia, and upwards of twenty marble quarries are open in Piedmont, besides one of alabaster. Thrown silk is exported to the annual value of about £800,000; and the value of what is manufactured in the kingdom, chiefly at Turin and Genoa, and in some parts of Savoy, is from £400,000 to £500,000. Rice is exported from the banks of the Po; and flax, with olive oil, chiefly from the duchy of Genoa, the county of Nice, and Sardinia. The Piedmontese wines, which used to find a market in Lombardy, are now kept back by the

* The details of the budget for 1839 are the following :—I. *Revenue*: Finance, *i. e.* customs, taxes on consumption, monopolies, &c. £1,700,000; direct taxes, with royal domains, &c. £1,088,000; post-office, &c. £92,000; mines, &c. £12,000; mint, stamps on metals, &c. £8000; chancery-fees, interest, and other payments to the exchequer, £36,000; returns from the admiralty, £8000: Sum, £2,944,000. II. *Expenditure*: Royal household and court, £160,000; ministry of justice, £172,000; foreign affairs, £120,000; ministry of the interior, £296,000; war-office, £1,044,000; artillery, £116,000; navy, £124,000; ministry of finance, £244,000; customs, &c. £340,000; appanages to Queen Dowager and Prince of Carignano, £16,480; interest and expenses of the public debt, £346,480: Sum, £2,978,960.

heavy duties. There are nearly 100 paper manufactures, and a few for cotton. The woollen trade has lately extended, Hungarian wool has been introduced, and the number of manufactories of this kind was recently 99, employing 3539 workmen. The tunny fisheries on the coasts of Sardinia yielded, in 1833, upwards of £12,000. That island sends out corn almost every year; and in abundant seasons it is calculated to export, of wheat about 480,000 imperial quarters; of barley, 240,000 quarters; of beans 120,000 quarters; and of pease, 240,000. In 1830, corn from Odessa was delivered at Genoa to the value of £520,000. The merchants of the latter town, which has been declared a free port, carry on a pretty extensive intercourse with South America, and, it is said, a profitable contraband trade with Old Spain. In 1839, the exports of their city were estimated at about £680,000 per annum. Coral and silk, (manufactured and unmanufactured), were each exported to a value exceeding £80,000; paper and paperhangings, maccaroni, and olive oil, each to more than £40,000; and white lead, goldsmith's work, and Piedmontese rice, each to more than £10,000.

In 1822, the chief exports from the whole kingdom amounted to about £1,900,000, and the imports to fully £1,450,000. The principal items were the following:—I. Exports: thrown silk, £720,000; rice, £120,000; flax, £11,080; oil, £640,000; paper, £96,000; silk stuffs, £300,000: Sum £1,887,080.—II. Imports: woollen cloths, £420,000; cotton goods, £792,000; sugar, £116,000; coffee, £60,000; cocoa, £11,440; hardware, £60,000: Sum, £1,459,440. In 1824, the total imports into the island of Sardinia were stated at £193,964; the total exports at £175,487. In 1832, the total exports of the kingdom were estimated at about £2,400,000, and the imports at about £2,880,000.

The registers of shipping contain about 5200 merchant vessels, whose crews amount to 40,000 men. In 1831, the number of vessels which cleared out from the different ports was 13,345, with a tonnage of 652,127.

The list, however, included fishing-barks and small coasters, and in many cases the same vessel was reckoned several times over. The number of ships which entered the harbours of the kingdom in the same year was 13,678, with a tonnage of 678,612. Genoa, still an important entrepôt for the commerce of the Mediterranean, is far the most frequented port. After it come Nice and Savona ; and Spezia, Porto Venere, Villafranca, Lerici, and the smaller harbours, rank much lower. From Sardinia (whose ports are Cagliari and Porto Torres), there cleared in 1831 no more than 244 vessels, with a tonnage of 24,695.

Education.

In reference to this branch of its economy, the country falls properly into three divisions ; the old provinces, the Genoese, and Sardinia.

In the first of these,—Piedmont, Savoy, and Nice,—education is superintended by a board of seven lay-members (*Magistrato della Riforma*), who sit at Turin. The territory under their jurisdiction is divided into 37 districts, in each of which is placed a local council, composed of a *Riformatore* (usually a priest), a physician, the judges of the local courts, and a secretary. There is one university only, that of Turin, founded in 1412, and consisting of five faculties, with 42 professors. The number of students is about 1250. The establishments for secondary education under the Board are in all 222. Of these, 27 are royal colleges, situated in the chief towns, and embracing a course of philosophy, arts, civil law, and music ; and 54 are communal colleges, in which are taught grammar, languages, and rhetoric. There are 91 inferior schools (*Scuole di Latinità inferiore*), 34 *Convitti*, which receive boarders for payment, and 16 *Pensionati*, whose inmates are received gratuitously. Most of the nunneries admit girls as boarders, and 19 of them are devoted exclusively to female education.

In the Genoese territory, education is placed under a board of laymen (*Deputazione degli Studj*), which sits

at Genoa. The university of that city, founded in 1812, has 34 professors, with about 500 students, including 150 students of law, and 170 of medicine ; and the territory of the deputation contains, in its seven districts, one royal college, seven communal colleges, seven schools of inferior latinity, and two convitti.

Both in the old provinces and the Genoese, the teachers are indiscriminately chosen from the laity or the clergy, excepting in 16 of the secondary schools, which are in the hands of the religious corporations. But the regulations issued in 1834 direct that clerical candidates shall be preferred, if equally qualified with others. The number of pupils cannot be ascertained ; but, while education in the Genoese territory is inferior both in amount and in quality to that of Piedmont, and while in both parts of the kingdom it partakes largely of the antiquated and illiberal, yet the number of establishments for the upper and middling classes is far greater in both quarters than in any other part of Italy.

In elementary instruction the state is not so fortunate. The government has paid very little attention to the improvement of the lower orders, and never attempted to introduce any general system. The Genoese are rather better off in this respect than their neighbours, and in all the mainland provinces of the state there are schools for boys in almost every commune ; but the teachers, who are nearly all priests, are believed to be generally inefficient, and the attendance, though its exact amount is not known, is very imperfect. In no part of the kingdom are there public elementary schools for girls.

In Sardinia, education is superintended by two Boards, the one placed at Cagliari, the other at Sassari, and headed by the respective archbishops. There are two universities : that of Cagliari, founded in 1764, containing 23 professors, and about 250 students ; and that of Sassari, founded in 1765, with 17 professors, and about 230 students. Each of the provinces has a grammar school, and the number of pupils in all is nearly 7000. In 1823, the government ordered the establishment of elementary

schools ; and of 392 villages, more than 300 now possess such institutions for boys ; but there are still none for girls.

THE DUCHY OF PARMA.*

The state of Parma, formed of the three duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, is divided into five provinces ;† and these again are subdivided into 105 communes. The state is an unlimited monarchy, without a charter or any representative assemblies. The provinces of Parma and Piacenza are administered by officers called governors ; the administrators of the others are called commissioners ; and at the head of every commune is a Podestà with a council of syndics.

According to the government-map of 1828, the state contains 1712 Italian square miles. In 1815 the population was 426,512 ; and in 1832, 460,759 ; which last numbers give 269 inhabitants for every square mile.

There are two supreme courts of appeal, one at Parma, the other at Piacenza ; and in each of these cities is a secondary tribunal, judging in all questions civil and criminal. Both the supreme and secondary courts are collegiate. There are 38 inferior local courts, called *Preture*, each consisting of a single judge, who determines civil causes, and acts as referendary, or *Juge d' Instruction*, before the secondary courts in criminal complaints. The Code Napoleon has been retained, but subjected to considerable modifications.

The state contains four bishoprics, and 763 parishes, being one parish for 997 souls. In 1832 the secular priests were about 2200, and the monastic clergy 695 in twenty convents ; being 100 endowed monks in two houses, 362 begging friars in eleven houses, and 233 nuns in seven houses. The endowed monasteries have either lands or

* *Principal authorities* :—Serristori's *Saggio Statistico*, with its Supplements. Molossi, *Vocabolario Topografico dei Ducati di Parma, Piacenza, e Guastalla* : Parma, 1834 ; as communicated in the *Blätter für litterarische Unterhaltung*, January 1836.

† Parma, Borgo San-Donnino, Piacenza, Borgotaro, Guastalla.

pensions granted them since the Restoration. The number of Jews is about 600.

The military force is said to be 1300 men, including the body-guards.

In 1833 the national revenue amounted to £275,834, being about 12s. for every inhabitant of the state. Of this sum the direct taxes yielded £86,354, the indirect, £110,920, and the royal domain, with other sources, supplied the balance of £78,560. These burdens are believed to be fairly enough apportioned. The customs are estimated on an average at £29,920 on imports, and £6740 on exports. The civil list is £80,000, and the national debt £428,000. The government expends annually on hospitals, dispensaries, and other charitable establishments, about £46,800 ; on the lately established elementary schools, £5600 ; and on the higher schools, £3600.

Manufactures and Commerce.

The fisheries on the Po yield a considerable produce, but nothing that is made available for exportation. The cattle on the plains and the lower hilly tracts are of excellent quality, and, in 1830, amounted to 143,209 head ; but the breed of sheep is deteriorated. The former are pretty extensively exported ; and the good meadow-land, which stretches far up the mountains, supports not only 350,000 horses, cattle, swine, sheep, and goats, belonging to the inhabitants, but also more than 1000 cattle, and 30,000 sheep and goats, which are sent from the neighbouring countries. A considerable number of these herds are regularly brought down to winter in the Tuscan Maremma ; and many of the mountaineers, like those from other tracts of the Apennine, emigrate during the summer to the Tuscan coast or the plains of Lombardy, as occasional farm-servants and herdsmen. The peasantry, who are chiefly employed in tillage, and are more comfortably situated than those in most parts of Italy, have improved in agricultural skill so much that Parma, which used to be unable to produce grain for more than seven months of the year, now exports it to the amount of nearly 70,000 cwt. Much

however still remains to be effected ; and the deficiencies are most palpable in the cultivation of the vine (for which the soil and climate of many districts are favourable, but which furnishes little wine for export), and in the rearing of the silk worm, from which no more than about 50,000 pounds of silk are annually exported. Iron is found in the large mine of Le Ferriere, in the district of Piacenza, which yields about 24,000 cwt. annually, for smelting at the government works. A little copper is procured in the same neighbourhood ; and at the springs of Salsomaggiore salt is made to the amount of nearly 9000 pounds every year. Besides cattle, grain, silk, iron, and a little wine, there are exported marble, timber, and sulphur matches, an article which pays duties to the amount of £1200. There is one tobacco manufactory near Parma, which prepares annually upwards of 300,000 lbs. Gunpowder mills at Montechiarugolo produce about 26,000 lbs. annually. There are one silk and one woollen manufactory (perhaps more), two glass-works, establishments for making straw-hats, a type-foundry, and several extensive paper-mills in the provinces of Parma and Piacenza.

Education.

The public instruction is in an unsatisfactory state, but promises improvement under the elementary schools erected by a ducal order of 2d October and 13th November 1831. In that year the university of Parma was suppressed ; and its place has been supplied by two academies, one at Parma, chiefly devoted to medical studies, containing 25 chairs and 420 students, and the other at Piacenza, with 13 chairs and 200 students, chiefly for law. There are eight secondary male schools, with about 530 pupils, besides two boarding establishments where 108 boys are instructed ; and in the four boarding-houses for girls 94 pupils are educated by nuns. There are now 110 communal schools, attended by 3930 boys, and 70 licensed private ones, with 1400 male pupils. In 25 of the communes, or one-fourth of the number, there were lately

no public elementary schools. There are no communal seminaries for girls ; but nunneries, charitable hospitals, and private persons supply the deficiency, to the number of 164 schools, which are frequented by 4056 female children. The total number of pupils attending the elementary schools is thus about 9386, or one forty-ninth part of the population.

THE DUCHY OF MODENA.*

The Duchy of Modena is divided into five provinces,† which make up fifty-nine communes. The political heads of four of the provinces are styled Governors, that of the fifth (the Lunigiana), is called a Delegate. The local administration of the communes differs, in name at least, according to their size ; those of the first class, which possess more than 7000 inhabitants, being ruled by a Podestà, those of the second class by a Syndic. Both officers are assisted by municipal councils. The sovereignty is quite unlimited.

The superficial area may be taken, after Serristori, at 1584 Italian square miles ; and the population in 1833 was 403,500. These statements give the average number of inhabitants at 254 to the square mile.

The highest courts of law are the Supreme Council of Justice at Modena, and the Supreme Tribunal of Justice and Tribunal of Appeal at Massa. There are two Secondary courts, one at Modena and one at Reggio ; and thirty-one Inferior Tribunals, of which seventeen are immediately subordinate to the Secondary Tribunal of Modena, twelve to that of Reggio, and two directly to the Supreme Appeal Court of Massa.

The state contains four bishoprics and 649 parishes, which have an average population of 621. Neither the numbers nor the revenues of the clergy are accurately known ; but there are 23 convents, of which nine are

* Principal authority :—Serristori's *Saggio Statistico*, and its Supplements.

† Modena, Reggio, Garfagnana, La Lunigiana Estense, and Massa.

nunneries, and in 1832 there were 258 secular priests in the city of Modena. In the beginning of 1834, the whole duchy contained 2628 Jews.

The troops, which are recruited by voluntary enlistment, amount to 900 men.

The public revenue has never been officially published.* The debt of the treasury is very small. The country exports some cattle, silk, wine, fruits, and the marble of Carrara, both wrought and unwrought, which employs 1200 workmen, and yields annually about £30,000.

The university of Modena has been suppressed since the insurrection of 1831, and its place is supplied by four colleges of law in different towns, one college of medicine, and a lyceum. For the secondary education there are three philosophical schools, and five boarding-establishments, of which two, comprising about 800 pupils, are taught by Jesuits. For the higher female education there are also five boarding-houses, all of which are directed by nuns. There are only six public elementary schools for boys, which are all in the towns, and have about 800 pupils: in the towns there are also a few elementary ones, taught by nuns, for girls. Almost all these initiatory schools are in the hands of the regular clergy. As to the state of the private country-schools very little is known.

THE DUCHY OF LUCCA.[†]

The duchy of Lucca forms but one province, and is divided into eleven communes, each of which is governed by a Gonfaloniere. The sovereignty is unlimited, and no charter has been granted since 1814.

The superficial area is given by Serristori at 320 Italian square miles. In 1836 the population was reported at 158,900. This little state is therefore the most thickly

* A late writer asserts, that before 1814 the revenue was £23,000, and that between 1814 and 1831, heavy taxation had increased it to £92,000.

† *Principal authorities* :—Serristori, *Saggio Statistico*, and Supplements. Board of Trade Papers, No. VI. Dr Bowring's Report on Italian Statistics.

peopled in Europe, having within a fraction of 497 inhabitants for every square mile ; a fact which is the more remarkable, because the soil, though generally fruitful, is not universally so, and probably no district of it possesses all the advantages which are united in some other Italian provinces. But the situation of the peasantry is perhaps of itself quite adequate to account for the mass of inhabitants. They are almost all proprietors of the lands they occupy ; the last survivors of that system which made Tuscany strong in the middle ages. About one-fourth of the population are petty owners of this sort ; and there exists a striking contrast between their position, and that of the starved metayer tenantry who form the agricultural class in most other parts of Italy. In 1832, when the population was 152,800, a great part of it was said to belong to the following classes. The noble families were 105 ; the clergy, secular and regular, 1898 ; the army 750 ; the officers of the government 1270 ; manufacturers and tradesmen 6300 ; seafaring people 450 ; agriculturists, comprehending both the numerous land-holders and the comparatively few tenants, 40,000. About 2600 labourers emigrate in winter to Corsica and to the marshes of Tuscany and the Papal State. Of 4976 children born in 1835, 119 were exposed.

There is one supreme court of appeal, in matters both civil and criminal, one civil court or Ruota, one criminal Ruota, and one tribunal of Commerce. The inferior civil courts are ten, and each of these has one judge (Commissario Giusdicente). In 1835 the tribunals of the duchy disposed of 1418 causes, of which 233 were criminal. There were five cases of murder, three of attempts to murder, forty-four of wounding, 163 robberies, three attempts at rape, three cases of arson, eight petty assaults, one forgery, and three charges of resistance to public authorities.

The state has one diocese only (an archbishopric), and 290 parishes, making an average population of 548 for each. In 1834 the secular clergy amounted to 1054. The regular ecclesiastics were 844 in twenty-three con-

vents ; namely, 391 monks and friars in twelve houses, and 453 nuns in eleven. In the year 1806 the property of all the twenty-five endowed monasteries, and the revenues of some benefices, worth in all £816,000, were declared public or domanial.* In 1818, on the reinstitution of the monastic orders in the duchy, a part of this property, valued at £340,000, was restored to them, but only in usufruct ; and on this tenure it is still enjoyed. The possessions of the secular clergy are estimated at £984,000 of capital.

The whole military establishment, including the household troops, does not exceed 750 men.

The general revenue of the state amounts to about £75,000, making an average charge of 9s. 6d. on every individual. Of this sum the land-tax produces £18,000, the customs as much more, the tax on registration £10,000, the lottery £2000, and the post-office £360. The expenditure nearly balances the income. About £15,900 are appropriated to the civil list, £11,200 to the army, and £49,000 to the general administration. There is no treasury debt. The communes tax themselves for roads, schools, and other local purposes, to the annual amount of about £6000.

Manufactures and Commerce.

In 1831, the custom-house returns, probably not very accurate, gave the imports at £200,000. The exports were valued at £80,000, chiefly consisting of olive oil (the best in Italy), silk, timber, and chestnuts with other fruits. The oil, which is stated to have since increased, made up £24,000 in the return, and the raw silk £8000 ; and the fresh fish are said to yield, in the district of Viareggio alone, an annual sum of £10,000. There are five silk manufactories, giving employment to 2500 hands ; the

* In the beginning of last century, the whole territory of the Lucchese republic was surveyed for the land-tax, and valued at £3,000,000 ; of which sum £900,000 belonged to the church. On a similar valuation in 1764, the value of the lands was set down at £4,000,000, and the church's proportion at £1,800,000.

woollen manufacture employs 900; paper-mills occupy 500; there are eight iron works; three copper works; one glass-house; one manufactory of earthenware; and about 1000 people employed in making various articles (such as mariners' caps) in cotton and linen. All attempts to work the metallic ores of the duchy have been unsuccessful.

In 1832, there cleared from Viareggio, the Lucchese port, 638 vessels (373 with cargoes, 265 in ballast); and there arrived 588 (322 with cargoes, 266 in ballast). There are also about twenty-six fishing barks belonging to that place. The tonnage of the small mercantile navy of Lucca is not exactly known.

Education.

Education is under the direction of a General Board. There are in Lucca a College, which has 60 boarders and 189 other scholars; a Lyceum with 300 scholars; a female Conservatory, with 40 pupils of the higher classes; and a boys' school on the system of mutual instruction, which has 100. There are public elementary or parochial seminaries for boys, which do not seem to have yet made much progress. Their number is about 100, of which about 40 are gratuitous, and the pupils, by the latest accounts, were somewhat above 2000. These returns would not give more than a fifty-fifth part of the population as receiving an elementary education. In the country, however, private schools are taught, for small fees, by a good many of the priests, and a few in the towns by old women; and an hospital in Lucca gives instruction to 450 poor female children. Altogether, the number of youths and children educated is stated to be about 3000.*

THE GRAND-DUCHY OF TUSCANY.†

This state contains five Provinces or Departments,

* Compare Serristori's account with the Tables in the Board of Trade Papers, Part VI., No. 184. The two statements are not easily reconcileable.

† *Principal authorities* :—Serristori's *Saggio Statistico*, and its Supplements. Board of Trade Papers, Parts VI. and VIII. Dr Bowring's Report on Italian Statistics. Raumer's *Italy*.

each of which* is divided into Districts or Chancelleries, seventy-nine in all, and these again into 247 communes. The governor of the department is styled Provveditore, the superintendent of the district Cancelliere, and the head of the commune Gonfaloniere. The government is quite unlimited, and the nation possesses no representative assemblies, either general or provincial.

For the communes, however, Leopold's system has been retained, having been only subjected, in 1816, to modifications in detail; and the ancient municipal polity of the Tuscan cities forms, as it did in the middle ages, the basis of the local administration. The Gonfaloniere is appointed by the government for three years, and presides in the administrative board of the Priors, which is renewed annually to the extent of a half. From the roll of all qualified citizens, two names are drawn by lot for each vacant place; and from these, after the existing priors have exercised their veto against artisans or petty traders, the provveditore selects the new prior. In many matters, such as alienations, or the imposition of taxes, the resolutions of this communal council are invalid till they have been approved by the government. There is also, every where, a Greater Council, whose members are chosen annually by the same process as the priors; but this board has no continuous functions, and is merely entitled to advise in extraordinary measures. The number of the communal officers varies in different places; Florence, for example, having, as under Leopold, eleven priors and twenty members of the greater council; while in Arezzo the former board consists of seven members, and the latter of sixteen, and in Fiesole the numbers are two and five. The qualification for insertion in the communal roll of citizens varies, having been fixed by each commune for itself. In Florence the only requisite is the ownership of land to any extent; while in most other places the citizen must also be rated for a greater or less amount

* Florence, Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, Grosseto.

of taxes ; and there are also special qualifications for admission into the board of priors.

The official surveys, begun by the French, and completed in 1834, state the area of the Grand Duchy, excluding roads and rivers, but including all the rest of the surface, whether taxable or exempted, at 6883 Italian square miles. About one twenty-sixth of this land is exempted from taxation, as being covered by agricultural buildings, fortresses, cemeteries, or ecclesiastical edifices. Of the taxable portion, the uncultivated pasture makes $\frac{9}{100}$; the forests are $\frac{7}{100}$; the tracts in ordinary tillage are $\frac{16}{100}$; the vineyards and olive-grounds together are less than $\frac{2}{100}$; the chestnut woods make $\frac{2}{100}$; and the meadows little more than $\frac{1}{100}$. In 1836 the population was estimated at 1,436,785, which gives 209 inhabitants for every geographical square mile. The illegitimate births are nearly an eighteenth of all that occur ; and the number of children exposed averages annually 2593, being one in every twenty-nine that are born. More than 1000 of these foundlings are deserted in Florence, many of them, however, being brought from the country.

The law-courts of Tuscany were remodelled by a decree of 2d August 1838, of which we do not yet possess minute details. The lowest class of judges are the Vicars and Podestà, whose jurisdiction is limited by the sum in dispute, or by the nature of the question ; next come fourteen Tribunals of First Instance, which are also courts of appeal from the sentences of the podestà, where the sum exceeds a certain amount ; and their own sentences are, under limitations, appealable to the Corte Regia of the province. Over all is an Appeal Court at Florence ; and criminal justice, for which there was lately but one tribunal for the duchy, is now administered by several courts. In 1833, the criminal judges of Florence passed 1340 sentences, none of which were capital. Of the offenders, 71 were sent to the public works, 90 to penitentiaries, 97 to hard labour in the towns of the Maremma, 381 to prison for a longer or

shorter time, and 325 were fined. In 149 cases no punishment was adjudged, the imprisonment and trial being considered to have been chastisement enough for the offence.

The duchy forms three archbishoprics and 17 bishoprics, and is divided into 2454 parishes, which possessed, in 1836, an average population of 586. The secular clergy were then 8757; the regular ecclesiastics of the male sex were 2540 monks and friars in nearly equal proportions; there were 3907 nuns; and the religious houses were about 162. The secular priests derive a large part of their revenue from real property, which is nearly the same as it was in the end of last century, when it was estimated to yield an annual revenue of £69,200. Of this sum the archbishoprics and bishoprics receive £20,000, the chapters £7200, the benefices in the gift of the crown £6800, and the ordinary parochial clergy £35,200. Before the suppression of the monastic orders in 1809 (at which time their numbers were 16,714), they possessed an income of £400,000; and on their re-institution in 1814, as much of their property was restored to them as was worth £860,000 of capital. But, besides these permanent funds, the government now allows pensions amounting in all to £94,100 annually. Some Protestant congregations are tolerated; one at Florence of about 300 persons; a Lutheran congregation at Leghorn of 240, and an English chapel with 250. There are two Greek churches, one Armenian, and in 1835 there were 6486 Jews. The non-Catholics then amounted altogether to 10,396.

The military force is calculated at 7000 men, and its ranks are filled up by an obligatory conscription.

In 1789, under Leopold, the revenue of the state was £356,000, and the expenditure £280,000. In 1798, under Ferdinand III., the revenue was £440,000, and the expenditure £280,000. In 1809, the Queen of Etruria being sovereign, the income was £560,000, and the outlay £440,000. In 1817 the former was £640,000, and was equalled by the latter. In 1832 the treasury received £799,120, of which sum the customs and consumption-

tax yielded nearly one-third, the government monopolies nearly a fifth, and the land-tax about an eighth.* This averages a burden of almost 11s. 6d. on every individual in the state. In the same year the civil list was estimated at £100,000, and the army at £141,120. Besides the sums stated above, the communes tax themselves for local purposes ; and in 1830 the amount so raised was £97,293, of which £94,628 was assessed on land, and £2665 in the shape of a household-tax.

Manufactures and Commerce.

The freedom of many articles from all duties makes it impossible to obtain official returns of the whole result of Tuscan commerce. The principal articles of export are these :—silk, both raw and manufactured, of which the annual value is about £120,000 ; olive-oil, exported to the value of about £80,000 ; and straw and straw-hats, which, a few years ago, brought into the duchy about £280,000, but now yield much less, the material being generally sent away unwrought, or only in plaits. Tuscany supplies to the foreign market also wool, a little wine, with alabaster, paper, timber, potash, and bark, iron, productions of the fine arts, and a few other commodities of less importance. The boracic acid of the lagunes in the Maremma has of late become a very valuable article of commerce. In 1833 the hot springs yielded about 650,000 Tuscan pounds of it ; in 1836, two millions and a half. The grain of the duchy is usually insufficient by one-fourth or one-fifth for the consump-

* The items are the following :—Land-tax, £100,800; household-tax, £25,200; customs and consumption-tax, £280,000; government monopolies, £176,000; registers and stamps, £76,000; post-office, £24,000; lottery, £60,000; government lands, £40,320; mines, £16,800. These are Serristori's returns. Compare them with statements for 1827, 1828, and 1830, accompanied with minute details of revenue and expenditure, given in Dr Bowring's Report, pp. 8, 9. The produce of the taxable surface of the Grand Duchy is estimated in the tax-roll at a sum equal to £1,475,000. The land-tax payable to the government therefore, as stated above, would be rather more than nine and eight-tenths per cent. on the valued rent.

tion of the inhabitants ; and in 1832 foreign corn was delivered in Tuscany, chiefly from the Black Sea, to the value of about £560,000.

Leghorn, besides substantially representing the commerce of the whole duchy, is still an ordinary place of deposit for merchandise intended for the Barbary States and other places in the Mediterranean. Its imports in 1823 were valued at £1,712,383. In 1832 its exports were £1,660,000, its imports £2,290,670 ; in 1834 the exports were £1,693,000, the imports £2,361,170 ; in 1835 the exports were £1,733,000, the imports £2,226,600. The average quantity of British manufactures annually imported into Leghorn, is estimated at £630,000. On the average of eight years, ending with 1835, the total amount of its annual exports to Great Britain was £222,500, besides wool. This last article seems to be increasing, and is stated for 1836 at £40,000, being four or five times as much as in any previous year. The largest entries in the list of exports to our country are the following :—straw, £45,000 ; straw-plaiting, £20,000 ; skins, £24,000 ; corals, £20,000 ; hemp (chiefly from Bologna), £8000 ; silk (chiefly from Romagna), £20,000 ; objects of the fine arts (chiefly from Rome), £20,000 ; drugs (chiefly from the Levant), £10,000 ; oil, £19,500 ; rags, £4000.

The shipping belonging to Tuscany is given at 793 vessels, of which 548 belong to Leghorn, and 245 to Elba. The total tonnage is 41,891 ; and 728 of the vessels are under 100 tons. During the ten years ending with 1835, the trade of British vessels with Leghorn has varied little. The averages were,—entered, British vessels 188, tonnage 29,541 ; cleared out, vessels 148, tonnage 23,147. New privileges were granted to the port in 1834, in the hope of averting a threatened decay in its trade.

Education.

A board at Florence superintends education throughout the duchy. There are two universities :—that of Pisa, founded in 1330, which in 1836 had 545 students ; and that of Siena, founded in 1358, which in 1836 had 245. Jurisprudence was studied by 255 of the young men at

Pisa, and by 121 of those at Siena ; medicine and surgery by 173 at the former school, and 35 at the latter. In neither of these universities is there a separate faculty of philosophy or arts ; but at Pisa two or three courses of this kind form part of the stated curriculum. The medical school of Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, which gives no degrees, had, in 1836, 152 students of surgery, 47 of medicine, and 29 of pharmacy. From the Florentine Museum of Physics, in which gratis lectures are delivered on experimental physics, comparative anatomy, zoology, mineralogy, and geology, there are no returns. For the secondary education of boys there are, first, five boarding-schools (two of them taught by the indefatigable Padri Scolopj), which, in 1835, had in all 172 boarders, and 980 day-scholars ; and, secondly, seven Latin day schools of the first class, all taught by the Scolopj, and receiving, in 1833, 2525 pupils. Elementary education is imperfect. Its advance, though quickening, is still slow, and its statistics are little understood. Since 1830 gratuitous communal schools have spread, and in 1836 they amounted to 230, besides those in Florence, Pisa, Prato, Pistoja, Leghorn, and Siena. The number of pupils is not known, but is not nearly what it ought to be. In the country Latin is generally taught, but not well ; and the schools in the cities have courses both of that language and of the elements of philosophy and mathematics. There are also private elementary schools in most towns. For female education there are reckoned 44 establishments in all. Those for the upper classes are almost wholly conducted by nuns, who also teach a few charity schools. In the towns, and larger villages, there are gratuitous seminaries, supported by the state, and a few by contributions. Seven of these are normal schools, relics of the system introduced by Leopold,—four in Florence, with 1100 girls ; one in Siena, with 250 ; one in Pisa, with 340 ; and one in Pistoja, with 230. There are schools of a second or lower class in 14 of the towns ; but the number of the lowest classes, the third and fourth, is not known.

Altogether it has been calculated, that in the towns of Tuscany, the children receiving elementary education are to the population as 1 to 69, and that in the whole duchy the number may be about 21,300, being to the population as 1 to 68.*

THE PAPAL STATES.†

The popedom is, as we have seen, an absolute elective monarchy. The commotions of recent years have made it necessary, for the sake of explaining historical events, to introduce in a preceding chapter all the more important facts regarding the share of the subjects in the government, both provincial and municipal.

The State is at present divided into 21 Provinces. That of Rome‡ is the first. The five following§ are called Legations, and each has usually for its Governor a Cardinal, with the title of Legate. Fourteen others|| are called Delegations, and each is usually governed by a Prelate, styled a Delegate. The last province, ** whose governor is also a Prelate, is called a Commissariat. The subdivisions are of two kinds. Eleven of the provinces,—the Comarca, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forli, Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, Ascoli, Perugia, Spoleto, and Frosinone,—are divided into districts, of which they form in all thirty-seven. The remaining provinces have not this secondary division. All the twenty-one, however, are divided into communes, the number of which is not known.

Government surveys have given the area of the Papal States (including, however, the petty territory of San

* For the statistics of education in Tuscany, compare Serristori's inquiries with the Board of Trade Papers, Part VI. p. 336-338, and with Dr Bowring's Tables.

† *Principal authorities*:—Serristori's *Saggio Statistico* and its Supplements. Board of Trade Papers, Parts III. VI. and VIII. Dr Bowring's Report on Italian Statistics.

‡ Called the Comarca.

§ Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forli, Urbino (with Pesaro).

|| Ancona, Macerata, Ascoli, Perugia, Spoleto, Frosinone, Velletri, Camerino, Fermo, Rieti, Civita-Vecchia, Viterbo, Orvieto, Benevento.

** Loreto.

Marino)* at 13,017 Italian square miles. Its population in 1833, was estimated by Serristori at 2,728,000, which gives a ratio of 209 for every square mile. A considerable part of the country, both in the mountains and on the plains, is very thinly inhabited.

The Camera (or Court of the Uditore Santissimo) in Rome, is understood to be the supreme court of appeal. The Sacra Ruota in the same city is a court of second appellate jurisdiction in civil questions from the three provincial courts of appeal, and also receives appeals in certain cases, both civil and criminal, from the inferior local courts. The three appellate tribunals for the provinces are the Court of Appeal at Bologna, that of Macerata, and the Segnatura of Rome. In the chief town of each of the twenty-one provinces is a collegiate Court of First Instance, possessing jurisdiction both civil and criminal for the whole province ; and for mercantile questions there are nine local Tribunals of Commerce. Besides these, there are 438 inferior courts, called Podesterie, which possess a limited jurisdiction. There are ancient courts of local authority in Rome, and ecclesiastical tribunals throughout the state, which interfere with the public judges. Of the baronial courts, it is stated that no more than twelve now exist.

The number of criminals convicted and imprisoned in the Roman State in 1832, was recorded officially at 2708. Of this number 1146 were confined at Civitâ Vecchia, 408 at Ancona, 436 at Spoleto, 309 at Fermo, 191 at Porto d'Anzo, 36 in the Castel Sant' Angelo, and the rest at Narni, San Leo, and Civitâ Castellana. Of

* The little republic of San Marino, locally situated in the Papal territory (within the Legation of Urbino), has an area of seventeen Italian square miles, and a population of about 7000, of whom 5000 live in Marino, its only town, and part of the remainder in two villages. The heads of the state are two Gonfalonieri, elected for three months ; who are controlled by a board of sixty Anziani, also elective. There are two deliberative councils, a higher of 12 members, and a lower of 300, half of whom are noble, and half commoners. The military force consists of forty men, and the revenue of the state is £2800. Its population is chiefly employed in cultivating the vine and rearing cattle.

these, 225 were under sentence of imprisonment during life, 606 for twenty years, 455 for ten years, 510 for five years, and 912 for shorter periods. The crimes were the following :—State offences 76, resisting police 26, breach of police surveillance 32, homicide 580, wounding 277, burglary 295, robbery 46, larceny 215, theft 811, coining 7, rape 91, escape from prison 8, other delinquencies 244. It is admitted that crime has increased since the date of that return.

The state (excluding the city of Rome, but including Benevento), forms four archbishoprics and 58 bishoprics. There is no accessible list of the monastic establishments, nor of the number of parishes, nor of the numbers or revenues of the clergy, either secular or regular. In the metropolitan city itself (which contains fifty-four parishes), the ecclesiastics of all classes amounted in 1836, according to the government statement, to 5545, being about a twenty-eighth of the population. The list included 37 bishops, 1468 secular priests, 2023 monks and friars, 1476 nuns, and 541 theological students. The same list returned the “Heretics and Turks” (not including the Jews) at 201; the Catholic communicants at 112,940; whence the non-communicants of all classes and ages were 40,738, the total population of Rome being 153,678.

The Jews have eight synagogues, and amount to about 9000 souls, of whom 4000 are in Rome, 1600 in Ancona, and 1800 in Ferrara.

The Papal forces, governed by a board of Presidenza dell’Armi, whose head is always a prelate, are estimated at about 15,000 men, including 4400 Swiss, in two regiments, raised in 1832. The Pope has his small body-guard of the same nation, and there are also the carabiniers or police soldiers, on horseback and on foot, whose number in 1833 was 2500, but was then reduced to 1000.

An official return, recently compiled,* gives the fol-

* Board of Trade Papers, Part VI. Dr Bowring’s Report contains this return, with another, much more detailed, for 1835. Any one who wishes to compare the Papal revenues and expenditure

lowing details of the Papal revenues and expenditure, in which however we do not find any of the items that arise from sources properly ecclesiastical,—a class of receipts, indeed, that has now fallen very low. The total gross income is estimated at a sum equal to £1,937,500; which is made up as follows:—Prædial imposts, and landed property, £683,333; monopolies, customs, and taxes on consumption, £858,333; stamps and registries, £114,583; post-office, £52,083; lotteries, £229,168. The expenses of collecting this revenue are said to be £462,500, of which the first item costs £158,333; the lotteries require the same sum; the monopolies, customs, and consumption-taxes not less than £95,833, the stamps and registries £18,750, and the post-office £31,251. The net revenue is thus £1,475,000. The government expenses, according to the same report, considerably exceed this amount, being £1,652,911. The outlay is accounted for as follows:—1. Sacred palaces, sacred colleges, ecclesiastical congregations, and diplomatic body abroad, £104,166. 2. Interest of public debt, &c. £558,333. 3. Expenses of state-government, £110,416. 4. Justice and police, £191,666. 5. Public instruction, fine arts, and commerce, £22,916. 6. Charities, £58,333. 7. Public works, cleaning and lighting Rome, £120,833. 8. Troops of the line and carabineers, £395,833. 9. Other military charges, health, and marine, £60,416. 10. Public festivals and extra expenses, £9166. 11. Reserve fund, £20,833.

On the 1st of January 1834, the consolidated debt of the treasury amounted to £6,300,000. This sum is made up of £4,500,000 of old debt, the interest on which is payable to the bank of Milan; and of £1,781,300, being the amount of three French loans, taken in equal portions in 1831, 1832, and 1833, the interest of which is paid half-yearly in Paris.

now with what they were from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, may do so by comparing the lists in the text with the details given in a collection called “*Li Tesori della Corte Romana*,” Brussels, 1672, which contains three reports by Venetian ambassadors, and one by an ambassador of France.

Manufactures and Commerce.

The natural advantages of soil and climate possessed by most provinces of the Roman states, are very far indeed from being adequately improved. Grain, wines, fruits, and the fine but neglected woods, furnish no exports to an extent worth mentioning. It is true that the manufactures in Rome, Bologna, Ancona, Ravenna, and one or two smaller towns, are not altogether so contemptible as they have been called ; but their productions are all consumed at home, while similar goods are imported in large quantities from abroad.

Neither the amount of the exports nor that of the imports can be estimated with accuracy, and there is no official list. But the total value of the exports must be very insignificant. The chief articles of natural produce that are sent abroad are, alum, some rice and oil, sheepskins, timber for ship-building, potash, and oak-bark for tanning. The principal manufactures are the following : —Paper (from Foligno and one or two other places, chiefly sent to the Levant and South America), violin-strings from Rome, maccaroni from Bologna and Ancona, sail-cloth and ropes from these two places, mosaics, artificial pearls, and other objects of taste. To these items may be added an immense quantity of rags, of which the metropolis furnishes a large share, and of which a considerable part, being too bad for the papermakers, is used as manure. The imports for inland consumption, especially for the supply of Rome, are far from inconsiderable. England furnishes colonial produce in large quantities, dried fish, medicines and dye-stuffs, hardware, cotton goods, earthenware, and other articles.

The mercantile navy of the state is said to include ninety-one vessels engaged in foreign commerce, with a tonnage of 7069, and the number of coasters must be pretty considerable. But the larger part of the trade in both branches is transacted at Ancona and the smaller harbours on the Adriatic, while the lazy Romans on the Mediterranean allow strangers to monopolize even

a larger share of the carrying trade than they do in other parts of Italy. In 1833, the number of vessels which entered and cleared out from the Papal ports was as follows :—I. Ports of the Mediterranean : (1.) Entered for trade, vessels 2251, tonnage 126,823 ; touched without trading, vessels 1021, tonnage 55,851 ; fishing-barks entered 332, tonnage 3436 : (2.) Cleared out after trading, vessels 2190, tonnage 124,288 ; departed after touching, vessels 1007, tonnage 52,500 ; fishing-barks departed 309, tonnage 3728. II. Ports of the Adriatic : (1.) Entered for trading, vessels 5096, tonnage 204,840 ; touched without trading, vessels 573, tonnage 22,069 ; entered fishing-barks 16,404, tonnage 183,363 : (2.) Cleared out after trading, vessels 4999, tonnage 205,073 ; departed after touching, vessels 716, tonnage 22,188 ; departed, fishing-barks 16,369, tonnage 182,496.

Education.

The Papal States contain seven universities, four of which, however, were founded as recently as 1824, by a bull of Leo XII. The three ancient institutions are those of Rome, Bologna, and Perugia. In the university of the capital, called Della Sapienza, founded in 1248, the medical faculty is the best. This establishment, like the others, has been subjected to a good many annoying regulations since the disturbances of 1831, but it is still estimated to possess 600 students. The ancient university of Bologna, founded in 1119, is still the first in Italy, except Pavia, and has its chairs creditably filled. Its number of pupils is reckoned at 550. The university of Perugia, founded in 1307, has about 200 students. The modern universities are those of Camerino, Urbino, and Macerata, each of which has about 200 scholars; and that of Ferrara, which has about 300. The number of youths nominally receiving an academical education is thus much greater in the Papal dominions than in any other Italian state ; but in fact, unless perhaps at Rome and Bologna, the university-course does not stand higher than that of the colleges or gymnasia in Lombardy and Piedmont. For

intermediate or secondary education, there are twenty-one colleges (four of which are at Rome), or perhaps more ; and all of these are believed to be directed by the religious corporations, and to have but little of the practical turn which could render them really useful. The instruction of the aristocratic class of females is entirely received in the convents.

For the elementary education of the poorer classes there is no general scheme ; and its state, though differing exceedingly in the different provinces, is certainly every where very low in the country, and not high in any of the towns. Rome, however, is perhaps better supplied than any other large Italian city. It has establishments of various kinds, which afford some sort of elementary knowledge to about three-fourths of the poor children between six and twelve years of age. In seven of the fifty-four city parishes there are gratuitous schools, superintended by the parish-priests ; while seven more are kept by religious orders, and teach grammar, writing, arithmetic, and the rudiments of history and geography, some of them being gratuitous, while others exact a small fee. There are also sixty district schools (*Scuole Regionarie*), exacting moderate fees, which are established at fixed distances through the city. Some hundreds of boys and two or three hundred girls, are partially educated by charitable institutions.* The total number of initiatory establishments was reckoned in 1836 at 372, with 482 masters, and 14,099 pupils. Of these 4800 attended the recently instituted infant schools. Besides this number, the gratuitous schools received 5584 children, being 2694 boys, and 2890 girls : those at which fees are paid had 3715 scholars, being 2115 boys, and 1600 girls. In the country towns and most of the villages the commune pays elementary teachers both for the boys and the girls ; and most of the parish-priests catechise on Sundays and holidays ; but there can be

* This classification is gathered from Serristori and the Quarterly Journal of Education. The enumeration which follows is taken from the Board of Trade Papers, Part VI. No. 186, C.

little doubt that the whole of this instruction is indolently and inefficiently imparted.

A congregation of cardinals superintends education throughout the state, and the bishop of the diocese is officially the chancellor of any university within his bounds.

THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES.*

The territories of the mainland, or terra-ferma, contain 15 provinces,† which are divided into 53 districts, and subdivided into 1790 communes.

Sicily forms seven provinces.‡ It was formerly subdivided into 23 districts ; but these have been lately suppressed, and the only remaining subdivision is that into 359 communes, which were instituted in 1818 on the abolition of the feudal organisation.

The whole kingdom thus consists of 22 provinces, 76 districts (including the suppressed ones of Sicily), and 2149 communes. The governor of every province is called an Intendent ; and over every district is placed a Sub-intendent. The edict of 1822, which has been already noticed, forms the sole limit on the sovereign's authority in the continental provinces ; and the fall of the Sicilian constitution has been also related.

In every commune there is kept a roll of persons

* *Principal authorities* :—Serristori, *Saggio Statistico* and its Supplements. Raumer's *Italy*. Orloff's *Mémoires sur Naples*. Board of Trade Papers, Parts III. V. VI. and VIII. Macgregor's Report on the Commercial Statistics of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies ; presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, in August 1840. Cohen's *Compendium of Finance*.

† Naples (chief town, Naples) ; the Terra di Lavoro (c.t. Caserta) ; the Principato Citeriore (Salerno) ; the Basilicata (Potenza) ; the Principato Ulteriore (Avellino) ; the Capitanata (Foggia) ; the Terra di Bari (Bari) ; the Terra d' Otranto (Lecce) ; Calabria Citeriore (Cosenza) ; the first Calabria Ulteriore (Reggio) ; the second Calabria Ulteriore (Catanzaro) ; Molise (Campobasso) ; the Abruzzo Citeriore (Chieti) ; the first Abruzzo Ulteriore (Teramo) ; the second Abruzzo Ulteriore (Aquila).

‡ Palermo, Messina, Catania, Girgenti, Siracusa, Trapani, Caltanissetta.

qualified for office in the communal or provincial councils. In the districts of those cities which the French regulations placed in the first class, the party must either possess a taxable income of 24 ducats (about £4 sterling), or have exercised a liberal profession during five years : for towns of the second and third class, the qualification is, a taxable income of 18 or 12 ducats respectively, the exercise of a trade or profession, or the occupation of a farm of a certain extent. From these lists the Intendent presents for the choice of the minister three names for every vacant place in the Communal Council. This municipal body contains from eight to thirty decurions, according to the population ; but the edict of December 1816, which organized the system, declares also that one-third at least of the number must be able to read and write. One-fourth of the decurions go out annually. They assess the taxes, are entitled to give their opinion on communal burdens and property, and elect triennially the magistrates, whose appointment, however, requires the approval of the government. The magistracy consists of a Syndic and Eletti, the latter being two in number for most communes. The city of Naples has a Syndic, 12 Eletti, and 30 Decurions.

There has been no authorized survey of the kingdom ; but, following Serristori, we may take its area at 31,616 Italian square miles, being 23,696 for the provinces on this side of the Faro, and 7920 for Sicily. The published statements regarding the apportionment of the surface differ prodigiously ; and the following results deduced from a comparison of them are probably far from being accurate. About a fifth of the surface seems to be occupied by towns and villages, roads and waters ; about six-tenths to be in tillage and orchards, and one-tenth in wood. The property of the churches, convents, and public institutions, once so enormous, is said to amount now altogether to little more than one-hundredth part of the cultivated land. In 1782 the population of the continental provinces was estimated at 4,707,821 ; and since 1825 regular returns give the following results ;

1826, 5,690,000 ; 1831, 5,755,023 ; 1832, 5,781,016 ; 1833, 5,821,607 ; 1835, 5,946,000. The population of Sicily was stated in 1770 at 1,176,615 ; in 1832 it was estimated at 1,780,000 ; and in 1833 at 1,784,400. Hence the population of the whole kingdom in the last of those years was 7,606,007. These figures give for the terra-ferma at that date an average population of 245 on every square mile, for Sicily 225 on every square mile, and for the whole state taken together 240 on every square mile. Of 13,506 children born in the city of Naples in 1832 (when its whole population was 358,994), 2045, or 1 in 8, were illegitimate ; and of 23,137 who died in the city during the same year, 1596, or 1 in $14\frac{1}{2}$, were also illegitimate. During the same year, of the births in all the 15 provinces within the Faro, 9889, or 1 in 22, were said to be illegitimate ; and of the persons who died 5324, or 1 in 31, were illegitimate likewise.* The vaccinations in the same year (besides those in private families of the upper classes), were about 51 per cent. on the births. The numbers of children exposed in the city of Naples recently were the following : in 1824, 1977 ; in 1827, 1891 ; in 1828, 1893 ; in 1838, 2022.

There are two Supreme Courts of Justice (having jurisdiction both civil and criminal) for the mainland and Sicily respectively. They are placed at Naples and Palermo. The next courts in rank are the Gran Corti Civili, which have civil jurisdiction both original and appellate, and are seven in number, four for the terra-ferma and three for Sicily. Below these stand the Civil Tribunals of First Instance, which are 22 in number, one in the government-town of every province. There are six tribunals of Commerce, three on the continent, and three in the island. Criminal Justice is administered in the terra-ferma by 15 courts (Gran Corti Criminali),

* By the English Population Returns for 1830, the proportions of illegitimate births to the legitimate were, for England 1 in 20 ; for Wales, 1 in 13 ; for England and Wales, 1 in 19 ; for Radnor (the county in which illegitimacy was most prevalent), 1 in 7 ; for Surrey (in which it was smallest), 1 in 40 ; and for Middlesex (which came nearest to Surrey), 1 in 38.

one of which is placed in the government-town of every province. In Sicily four of the provinces have similar Grand Courts, and in the three others (Palermo, Messina, Catania), criminal justice is administered by the Grand Civil Court of each. On the mainland every commune has since 1817 a Conciliatore, who is a sort of judicial arbiter or referee, chosen from among the resident landholders. Besides these courts, the whole kingdom is partitioned into 674 small circles (Giudicature di Circondario), of which the Neapolitan provinces contain 525 and Sicily 149 ; and in each of these resides a *Giudice d'Istruzione*, who exercises a sort of police jurisdiction, and also appears to act before the Grand Criminal Court of his province as public prosecutor.

The ecclesiastical divisions of the kingdom embrace, on the mainland, 20 archbishoprics, 65 bishoprics, and 3746 parishes. In Sicily there are three archbishoprics, and 11 bishoprics ; but the number of parishes is not known. The parishes on the continent had lately an average population of 1554. In 1807, when the monastic orders were partially suppressed, the total number of ecclesiastics in the kingdom on this side of the Faro was about 98,000 ; the secular priests being 47,000, the regular clergy 51,000, namely, 25,000 monks and friars, and 26,000 nuns. Since the reinstitution of those orders in 1814, they have not acquired their former strength ; and in 1832 the whole number of the clergy on the mainland was 49,759 ; namely, 27,622 secular priests, and 22,137 regular ecclesiastics, the latter comprising 11,838 monks and friars, and 10,299 nuns. The revenues of the secular clergy in the continental provinces are unknown ; but soon after the restoration, the government made over to the monastic orders a considerable quantity of lands and other property, the value of which has not been published, though it is believed to bear a small proportion to their possessions before the revolution. In Sicily, the monastic orders have subsisted uninterrupted, and the state has appropriated no portion of the church-property, the value of which, however, it has

not been possible to ascertain. The number of ecclesiastics in the island amounts to about 76,000 ; since the secular clergy are estimated at 31,000, and the monastic at 45,000, being 28,000 males and 17,000 females. Accordingly the total number of ecclesiastics in the kingdom is considerably above 120,000.

Besides the Catholics, there are in the mainland provinces about 2000 Jews, who are not allowed to acquire a domicile. In Puglia, the Abruzzi, the Calabrias, and Sicily, there are, as we have seen, several colonies of Albanians, who belong to the Greek church.

The army may be reckoned, on the peace establishment, at thirty-five or forty thousand men, of whom nearly 6000 are Swiss, in four regiments, raised in 1828. The native troops are recruited on the mainland by conscription (from the completion of the eighteenth year to that of the twenty-fifth), in Sicily by voluntary enlistment. The present king has restored in the city of Naples the national guard, consisting of twelve battalions. The navy comprises two ships of the line, five frigates, and eighteen smaller vessels.

In 1831, the revenue of the Neapolitan treasury was £4,472,080. The items were the following : Land-tax, £1,264,960 ; grain-tax, £213,000 ; other direct taxes, £30,400 ; customs, farmed out, £625,240 ; government monopolies, £652,800 (viz. salt, £510,000 ; and tobacco, £142,800) ; excise on articles of consumption (Naples), £331,480 ; crown rents (Naples), £18,360 ; registers and stamps, £181,080 ; other indirect taxes, £31,600 ; lottery, £221,000 ; post-office, and post-horses, £60,600 ; various receipts not specified, £184,520 ; drawback retained on the salaries of public servants, £198,040 ; contribution by Sicily to the general expenditure of the kingdom, £459,000. The sum contributed for 1831 by the mainland alone appearing thus to be £4,013,080, each individual must have paid on an average nearly 14s.

Sicily, which has a separate treasury, yielded in 1831 a revenue of £867,000, giving rather more than 9s. 9d. for every person. The local administration absorbed

£408,000 of this sum, leaving, as above stated, a balance for the treasury of Naples.

Even with the aid thus received from Sicily, the continental provinces do not meet the expenses of their administration, at least as it was conducted till 1831. In that year the treasury of those provinces expended £4,976,090, and the items of the budget, as published by the government, were the following : Foreign affairs, £59,160 ; administration of justice, £125,160 ; establishments ecclesiastical and for education, £7800 ; home secretary's office, £340,000 ; war office £1,254,090 ; admiralty, £264,690 ; general police, £42,500 ; expenses of finance department, including the interest of the treasury debt, £2,545,070 ; civil list, £337,620.

In December 1820, the minister of finance laid before the constitutional parliament an elaborate report on the finances of the continental provinces. The interest of the consolidated national debt was then £248,500, and the capital was therefore estimated at £4,970,000. But for the expenses of the Austrian army there were contracted in 1821 two new loans, amounting together to £1,590,750. To the interests of these sums were added compensatory pensions, claims by the creditors of the royal family, and the like ; so that, in 1823, the public debt involved an annual burden of £679,350, or about one-seventh of the revenue. At 5 per cent. this charge would represent a capital of £13,587,000 ; and in 1832 the principal was stated to amount altogether to £14,000,000.—Sicily has a separate debt of £680,000, wholly modern ; for one-fourth of it was contracted for in 1822, and the remainder, designed for constructing roads, was borrowed in 1824.

Manufactures and Commerce.

The natural productions of Naples and Sicily, rich and numerous though they are, furnish but few materials that are made available for manufacture or export.

The grain of the island is chiefly consumed in the kingdom. The abundant produce of the fisheries on the coasts

is also exhausted there ; and the demand incidental to a Catholic country requires an extensive importation from the shores of Newfoundland. The wool, though it is grown in large quantities, especially on the pastures of Puglia, is now of middling quality ; and the cloth into which it is manufactured has but recently proved good enough for the use of the upper classes of the Neapolitans. Though useful minerals are not abundant, extensive iron mines have been long known in the Calabrian forests ; but this source of wealth has been as little improved as the others. From the times of Frederic II. such mines were appropriated as a part of the royal domain ; high duties were imposed on foreign iron ; and the Calabrian works were at length deserted. About 1754 the old mines were again opened, though without profit ; but a new undertaking at Mongiona was rather more successful, and in 1785 the receipts of the government from it were about £2300. In 1803 the monopoly was abolished ; and during the operation of the continental system the Neapolitan forges were actively employed. Since the peace, many of the iron-works, such as those of Amalfi and Maddalone, have been entirely given up ; and the establishment at Mongiona, which still belongs to the crown, is at present maintained at a loss. Almost all worked iron, agricultural implements, and utensils of trade come from abroad,—a considerable proportion, particularly the steel, being furnished by England. The whole quantity of iron annually smelted in the kingdom is estimated at about 22,900 cwt. ; of which the Principato Ultra, which has four works, smelts about 4600 cwt. ; the Principato Citra, at five works, 3700 cwt. ; the Terra di Lavoro, at two works, 2000 cwt. ; and Calabria about 12,600 cwt., of which 3600 cwt. are smelted at Prince Satriano's establishment, and 9000 at the government works of Mongiona. The two Calabrese forges use native iron ; the others procure their ore almost entirely from Elba.*

* See a Memoir of the Chevalier Bianchini, "Sullo stato delle Ferriere del Regno di Napoli," in the Neapolitan periodical "Il Progresso delle Scienze, delle Lettere ed Arti," for September 1834.

The most lucrative article of foreign trade is the olive-oil, produced in both sections of the kingdom, which meets a market every where. The returns made to the Board of Trade estimate the average annual exportation at 36,000 tuns, worth about £840,000. To it may be added one or two other commodities. Silk is not cultivated to any great extent ; though improvements have lately been made in Sicily, and a very small quantity of it in a manufactured state is sent from Catania, Palermo, and Santa Leuce. The gloves of Naples deserve mention. From Sicily come its wines,—which find their way both to the north of Europe and to South America,—its sulphur, shumac, fruits, and less important articles.

For the total amount of exports and imports of the mainland provinces, Serristori gives the following estimates, the accuracy of which, however, cannot be vouched :—Imports into those provinces, in 1771, £1,488,000 ; Exports in 1771, £1,400,000 : Imports in 1833, £1,400,000 ; Exports in 1833, £880,000. For Sicily, the imports of 1771 are stated by the same writer at £660,000 ; the exports at £892,000.

For late years, the English consular returns give the following figures :—

The total value of merchandise exported from the mainland provinces in 1837, is stated at a sum equal to £1,743,460 ; of which, exported in Neapolitan vessels, £1,172,347. Of these exports Great Britain received £184,315 ; and Sicily £34,984 ; the Pontifical States, by sea and land, £102,331 ; the Sardinian States, £209,397 ; Tuscany, £90,304 ; France, £584,553 ; Austria, £434,665 ; the United States, £2,687. The total value of merchandise imported in the same year is given at £2,367,400 ; of which imported in Neapolitan vessels, £1,585,255. Of these imports Sicily furnished £108,424 ; Great Britain, £946,485 ; the Pontifical State, £43,761 ; the Sardinian States, £147,278 ; Tuscany, £68,397 ; France, £709,310 ; Austria, £234,563 ; the United States, £9208.

The same papers give the total value of imports from Great Britain to the port of Naples as annually averaging

£575,000 ; the items being the following : Codfish, £30,000 ; pilchards, £18,000 ; coffee, £2000 ; sugar, £30,000 ; cotton goods, £200,000 ; cotton twist, £175,000 ; hardware, £15,000 ; iron and tin, £15,000 ; woollens, £50,000 ; worsteds, £40,000. The total value of exports to our country from that city is returned as averaging annually £174,000, made up as follows : Argol, £5000 ; liquorice paste, £10,000 ; silk organzine, £60,000 ; brandy, £9000 ; oil, £90,000.

In 1835 the whole amount of imports into Sicily was £745,086 ; the exports were £1,049,224. In 1836, the imports amounted to £934,330 ; being, for colonial goods, £116,569 ; manufactured goods £546,171 ; and miscellaneous articles, £271,590. The imports from Great Britain and her colonies, in that year, amounted to £586,540, being nearly two-thirds of the whole ; and were made up of colonial goods, £42,914 ; manufactured goods, £388,909 ; miscellaneous articles, of which the largest amounts were in deal-boards, hides, and iron, £154,717. The imports from other Italian states were : Colonial produce, £20,581 ; manufactured goods, £91,253. The total exports of Sicily for 1836 amounted to £1,908,229 ; of which Great Britain and her colonies received £637,551, or one-third of the whole amount. There thus appears, in the commerce of Sicily, an increase from 1835 to 1836 : of imports, £189,244 ; of exports, £859,005 ; together, £1,048,249 ; while the increase in the trade with our country is, on imports, £187,675 ; on exports, £155,374 ; together, £343,049.*

Returns still more recent give the following results for Sicily. In 1838 : Total value of imports into the island, £606,179 : of which colonial goods, £97,309 ; manufactured goods, £289,521 ; miscellaneous articles, £219,349. Of the same sum the United States furnished £16,196 ; the countries on the Baltic, £20,207 ; Germany, £31,908 ; France, £96,220 ; Great Britain and

* Papers printed by Board of Trade, Part VI., No. 187, I, K, L, M, O, P.

her colonies £290,410 ; the Italian States, £138,824 ; other countries, £12,414. Total exports from Sicily in 1838, £1,062,189 : of which the United States received £140,477 ; the countries on the Baltic, £38,873 ; Belgium and Germany, £123,102 ; Brazil and Rio de la Plata, £56,445 ; France, £198,218 ; Great Britain and her colonies, £337,979 ; the Italian States, £131,772 ; other countries, £35,323.—In 1839 : Total value of imports into Sicily, £568,998 : of which, colonial goods, £146,890 ; manufactured goods, £227,889 ; miscellaneous articles, £194,219. Of these sums the United States furnished £70,747 ; France, £114,235 ; Great Britain and her colonies, £141,006 ; the Italian States, £130,807. In 1839 : Total exports from Sicily, £1,350,493 : of which the United States received £393,723 ; the shores of the Baltic, £66,792 ; Belgium and Germany, £80,871 ; the Brazils and La Plata, £65,071 ; France, £198,168 ; Great Britain and her colonies, £379,879 ; the Italian States, £107,759 ; other countries, £58,230. The only articles exceeding £100,000 in this return were the following : Brimstone, £116,142 ; dried fruits, £163,175 ; oranges and lemons, £119,737 ; shumac, £263,567 ; wines and spirits, £156,315. The following articles alone ranged between £100,000 and £50,000 ; linseed, £55,572 ; manna, £53,780 ; olive-oil, £96,569 ; silk, £54,969.

In 1830 the Neapolitan and Sicilian registers contained 6943 vessels as the whole shipping of the kingdom ; but of this number 4558 only were traders of any sort, and a large proportion even of these were small coasters. The rest, being 1485, were fishing-barks. In 1833 the number of vessels above 16 palms in height was 2400 ; those below that size were 5200 ; together, 7600. There is no record of the tonnage for the mainland ; but we have annual returns of the shipping of Sicily from 1823 to 1835, exhibiting a steady increase. In 1823 the number of vessels was 1437, the tonnage 25,844 : in 1835 the vessels were 2058, the tonnage was 41,797.

Education.

The provinces of the mainland possess but one university, that of Naples, founded in 1224, which lately had 1526 students. Sicily has two universities :—that of Palermo, founded in 1447, which has about 600 pupils ; and that of Catania, founded in 1445, which has 500. There are also, however, five colleges or lyceums on the mainland (Naples, Salerno, Catanzaro, Aquila, Bari), and one at Messina, in which the course of instruction is academical, and the minor degrees are conferred. For education intermediate between the lyceum and the elementary school, there are, on the mainland, 12 royal colleges and 33 secondary schools ; and in Sicily 21 colleges and academies. For the instruction of the upper class of females, there are three public establishments, two at Naples, and one at Palermo.

The French laws directed an elementary school to be established in every commune, but this plan was never fully put in execution. However, at the Restoration 100,000 children were receiving elementary instruction ; and, after the initiatory schools had lingered from 1814 till 1819 under the restored government, there were still, in the mainland provinces, 74,713 pupils, or one sixtieth ninth of the population. There are no returns since that time, but it is believed the numbers have not materially increased. There are still no endowed elementary schools for girls, and in Sicily there are none of that kind for either sex. The superintendence of education is devolved on two supreme juntas, one at Naples, the other at Palermo, under whom is a commission in every province ; but, so far as is known, the communal schools, where they exist, are in fact left entirely to the care of the parish priests, and the result is any thing but satisfactory. The secondary schools are rather in a better condition ; and the universities, which have had many distinguished men among their teachers, have produced more scientific discoveries than well-informed pupils.

CORSICA.*

This extensive island, which dropped almost entirely from our view on its subjection to France in 1768, is still a province of that kingdom.

It forms a department, called by its own name, and divided into five arrondissemens,† which are subdivided into 60 cantons, and 355 communes. Its electoral college returns two members to the Chamber of Deputies. The Prefect, or political head of the department, has his seat at Ajaccio ; and there are, as in other French provinces, a Sub-prefect in each arrondissement, and a Mayor in every commune ; while these three divisions have the usual gradation of councils.

The superficial area is stated at 2848 geographical square miles ; and the population in 1839 was 207,889, which gives an average of 73 inhabitants for every square mile. It is stated that nearly half the surface of the island is quite unsusceptible of tillage ; and that little more than a half of what is improvable has been brought under cultivation. The woods are reckoned at an eleventh of the area, and the vineyards at a fifty-fifth part. In 1831 the illegitimate births were to the lawful as 1 to $19\frac{8}{10}$. The direct contributions are reckoned at £10,400 ; of which the land-tax or Contribution Foncière (assessed on a valued rent of £105,400), yields £6812 ; the tax on persons and moveables, £2220 ; and that on doors and windows, £1368. The stamps and registers used to be estimated at £1200 annually, and the receipts of the customhouse at £2800. The average exportation to France is estimated at £60,000 per annum ; the average importation from that country into Corsica at £120,000. The island has a surplus of corn, and iron employing ten forges : it

* *Principal authorities* :—Serristori, *Saggio Statistico* (Supplementi) and *Atlante Statistico*. Benson's *Sketches of Corsica*, 1825. *Statistique Annuelle de l'Industrie* ; in the *Almanach-Bottin du Commerce*, 43me Année, 1840.

+ Ajaccio, Bastia, Calvi, Corte, Sartene.

exports some wine, olive-oil, and fruits, with timber for masts and hulls, and less important articles.*

SUMMARY OF ITALIAN COMMERCE.

VIEW OF THE COMMERCE OF ITALY IN GENERAL ; AND OF ITS TRADE WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

The deficiencies in the authentic information regarding the statistics of Italy, are evident every where in this chapter, and make it impossible under any head to combine the several facts into one systematic summary. It would be particularly convenient to possess such a summary of the commercial relations of the whole country ; but this is one of the sections in which our knowledge is most fragmentary.

The total Exports of Italy have been valued conjecturally at about twelve millions sterling ; and the most important articles will be found in the commercial paragraphs for each state. There are but three commodities which can be specified as produced in large quantities over a considerable part of the peninsula ;—namely, the unmanufactured silk, the olive-oil, and the rice. The Silk is the staple of Italian commerce. Its total growth within the Alps is calculated at 11,850,000 lbs. annually, valued at upwards of twelve millions sterling. The Austrian provinces are supposed to produce 7,000,000 lbs. of this quantity ; the Sardinian States, 2,000,000 ; Parma, Modena, and Lucca, together 550,000 ; Tuscany, 300,000 ; the Papal States, 800,000 ; and the Two Sicilies,

* MALTA might in one sense be classed with the Italian Islands, and some readers may have expected to find it treated in these volumes. There seemed, however, to be sufficient reasons for excluding it. The interest which attaches to it is of a different kind from that which belongs to Italy ; its history runs, throughout its whole course, in a line entirely separate from that of the peninsula and the larger islands ; and, again, the chivalrous adventures of which it was once the scene could not have received any thing like justice, unless they had been related with a fulness of detail that would have been altogether disproportionate to their relative importance as historical facts.

1,200,000. There are exported, in the unmanufactured state, about 5,508,000 lbs., which may be worth between five and six millions sterling, or about half the annual value of all Italian exports. The rest is manufactured in the country ; but comparatively few of the goods so produced are exported, and these are understood to find their best market in South America. The Olive-Oil has been estimated at about £2,080,000 annually. This sum is said to be made up in the following proportions : the Two Sicilies, £920,000 ; the Sardinian States, £640,000 ; the Papal States, £320,000 ; Tuscany £80,000 ; the small duchies, £40,000. These estimates are probably under the truth ; and we cannot specify exactly how much of this oil is exported. The Rice, almost wholly grown in Upper Italy, is calculated to be worth about £1,600,000 a-year ; and nearly a half of it is said to be exported.*

Besides the home-consumption of all kinds of produce and manufactures, each of the Italian States serves in some degree as a market for the rest. The internal communication was checked till the middle of the eighteenth century by the lamentable want of roads ; but this deficiency has, since that period, been in some measure remedied. The great highways, the merit of which, except in Tuscany and Austrian Lombardy, belongs chiefly to the French, are excellent ; and roads have been made in the present century through the provinces which formerly had none, or scarcely any practicable for carriages ; such as the southern districts of Naples, the island of Sicily, and even Sardinia. Several roads have also been made or improved on the Apennines, especially the lines from Nice and Turin to Genoa and Leghorn. The canals of Upper Italy have been considerably extended, and plans have been lately formed for introducing water-carriage in the southern provinces. Among these designs was one of gigantic dimensions, for uniting the two coasts

* The materials of this paragraph will be found in the Board of Trade Papers, Part VI. ; and in Serristori's *Saggio Statistico*, the first part and second supplement.

of Naples by a canal to be fed from the mountain-lake of Celano, and to join the Garigliano to the Pescara. Railroads have been projected every where, and some have been executed. The great railway from Milan to Venice has as yet proceeded no farther than a branch to Monza; and another between Florence and Leghorn has been during the last few years repeatedly proposed. Local jealousies, however, and injudicious fiscal regulations, are far more formidable obstacles to internal commerce, and restrain it within very narrow limits. The removal of this class of difficulties seems quite hopeless; and indeed they check even the communication between the different provinces and towns within the same state.

Italy must look to other countries for the disposal of her produce; but our data for determining even the relative importance of her foreign markets are meagre and uncertain. France, however, stands first; and the articles which she received were estimated for 1832 at above four millions sterling, making about one-third of the total exports. Great Britain is the second best customer; and, though the total value of our annual imports from Italy can be only stated conjecturally, yet an estimate which does not seem to be very far from the truth, gives them approximately at £2,075,000, or one-sixth of the whole value exported from the Italian States. The annual exports to Russia are estimated loosely at £400,000. Those to other countries fall much short of the amounts taken by the three great kingdoms now enumerated.*

The most important articles which our country receives from Italy are, Unmanufactured Silk, and Olive-Oil.

For the silk, Great Britain presents by far the best market which the Italians have; but the total quantity of it which we consume cannot be here stated. The chief difficulty in estimating its amount is caused by our obtain-

* The preceding estimates in this paragraph are Serristori's.

ing a large proportion of it through France.* The native statistical writers calculate the proportional exportation of their silk as follows : The export to Britain, as 60 ; to France, as 35 ; to the German dominions of Austria, as 24 ; to the other states of Germany, as 11 ; to Switzerland, as 5 ; and to Russia, as 2.† Till early in last century, when an intelligent English manufacturer discovered in Piedmont the process used in throwing the silk, we were compelled to import it in the state of Organzine ; but we now take it raw as well as thrown ; though our imports of the latter during the last few years appear to have diminished to a trifle. Great Britain seems to receive a third at least, and perhaps a half, of the whole unmanufactured silk of Italy ; but, for the reason already stated, the customhouse returns do not present nearly this quantity. They give us, indeed, on an average of the last few years, no more than a ninth or tenth part of the whole Italian silk, as directly imported. But the following results may be abstracted from them.‡ On the average of the fourteen years beginning with 1820 and ending with 1833, the raw silk, waste silk, and knubbs, appearing to be annually imported by us from Italy, amounted to 378,316 lbs. The thrown silk during the same period amounted, on an annual average, to 181,054 lbs. The two kinds together make an average of 559,370 lbs. But, in the six years ending with 1825, the annual importation of the thrown silk was 415,966 lbs. ; while during the next eight years, ending with 1833, it averaged no more than 4869 lbs. The alteration is to be ascribed to no falling off in our silk manufacture, which since 1825 has made a greater advance than it had done for a hundred years before ;—but our own Bengal silk is rapidly rising in the market ; and Mr Huskisson's act of 1824, taking effect in 1826, caused an increased importation of

* See M'Culloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire (1st edition), vol. ii. p. 152.

† Serristori, *Saggio Statistico*, p. 191.

‡ The materials for the following calculations as to the silk trade are furnished by the Board of Trade Papers, Part III., which also give the statements as to the olive-oil.

the raw silk, the duty on which is made nearly nominal, while that on organzine, though much diminished, is still proportionally large. The other and most important section of the act, which allowed the importation of foreign manufactured silks into this country on payment of an ad-valorem duty of 30 per cent., abolishing the former unqualified prohibition, has had no calculable effect in bringing such goods from Italy.

Our published abstracts do not distinguish the countries from which we receive our olive-oil; but neither from the Levant, nor from Spain and Portugal, nor from both quarters together, do we import more than a small quantity compared to what we obtain from Italy. In 1820 the total quantity of that article imported into Great Britain was 499,289 gallons; in 1833 it was 1,891,918 gallons; during the fourteen years of which those years are the first and last, our largest import, that of 1831, amounted to 4,158,917 gallons, and our smallest, that of 1832, to 110,822 gallons.

For the rice, the third of the Italian staple productions, we furnish no market of any importance. The most valuable of the other articles which we receive, are Sicilian sulphur and wines, fruits, barilla, shumac, cheese, lamb-skins, and hemp.

We cannot state, even by approximation, the total amount of the foreign imports received by the Italian States. Among the countries, however, whose produce and manufactures they consume, the British empire appears to furnish the largest value, and France the next.* Of our own two kinds of produce and manufactures, Colonial and Native, both are taken by Italy to an amount which makes her commerce with us highly important. Nor does she merely receive large supplies from us for her own consumption. Merchandise to a very considerable value is also lodged temporarily in her

* Serristori, *Secondo Supplemento*, p. 46. The subsequent numbers in this and the following paragraphs are partly calculated, partly abstracted, from the Board of Trade Papers, Parts III. IV. V. VI. VII. and VIII.

havens, especially the free ports of Leghorn and Genoa, for re-export to other parts of the Mediterranean ; although there, as elsewhere, this sort of trade, a great part of which was in the hands of British merchants, is now on the decline.

There are not sufficient data for estimating the total quantity of our colonial exports to Italy ; but their amount for some of the states will be gathered from preceding parts of this chapter. The chief articles are coffee, raw sugars, and pimento. The value of British and Irish produce and manufactures taken by Italy, for consumption or re-export, can be exactly stated ; and, if we calculate from the gross amounts, she is our sixth best customer for such articles, or our fourth, if we omit our own colonies in the East and West Indies. For our cottons, Italy is nearly, if not altogether, the very best market. During the twelve years commencing with 1827 and ending with 1838, the average annual value of our native commodities exported to Italy and its dependencies (according to the customhouse declarations) was £2,571,119 ; being a sixteenth of the whole annual amount of our exports of that kind during the same period. The numbers for the several years exhibit a rise, gradual, but a little fluctuating. The lowest amount is that of 1827, being £1,942,752. The amount for 1834 was £3,282,777 ; for 1835, £2,426,171 ; for 1836, £2,921,466 ; for 1837, £2,406,066 ; and for 1838, £3,076,231.

The following are the principal articles of our native exports to Italy for 1838, all those being specified whose declared value amounts to £1000. Cotton manufactured goods, £1,379,082 ; cotton twist and yarn, £626,503 ; woollen manufactured goods, including hosiery and small wares, £258,157 ; refined sugar, £226,372 ; iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, £186,368 ; linen manufactures, £50,140 ; hardware and cutlery, £49,598 ; machinery and mill-work, £41,985 ; tin and pewter wares and tins-plates, £38,245 ; brass and copper manufactures, £34,291 ; herrings, £20,964 ; earthenware, £15,897 ; tin unwrought,

£13,768 ; coals, £12,166 ; apparel and haberdashery, £8875 ; woollen and worsted yarn, £8003 ; linen yarn, £7725 ; arms and ammunition, £6378 ; painters' colours, £3751 ; silk manufactures, £3124 ; printed books, £2138 ; plate, plated ware, jewellery, and watches, £1961 ; stationery, £1856 ; saddlery and harness, £1510 ; lead and shot, £1410 ; glass, £1353.

The shipping employed in the Italian trade with our country is almost wholly British ; and indeed twenty years ago it might have been said to be entirely so. In the nineteen years ending with 1838, the merchant-ships which entered our ports from Italy and cleared outwards for that country, amounted on an annual average to the following numbers and tonnage : 1. British : entered, vessels 354, tonnage 52,876 ; cleared out, vessels 353, tonnage 51,320 : 2. Foreign : entered, vessels 24, tonnage 4281 ; cleared out, vessels 23, tonnage 4861.

COMMERCIAL TARIFFS IN ITALY, AND COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

With the Papal and the Sardinian States, with Tuscany, Lucca, Parma, and Modena, we deal upon the same terms as other foreigners. Our trade with the Two Sicilies and with Austrian Italy, is regulated by special commercial treaties.

Details as to the tariffs of the several states may be sought in other works ; and one or two general remarks must here suffice. The export and import duties of the Roman States are regulated by a tariff which is believed to have undergone no material change since it was promulgated, in April 1830. There are not many prohibitions of import, except as to articles which are monopolies of the government (salt and tobacco, alum, vitriol, and playing-cards) ; but a few, such as wine and brandy in casks, common window-glass, and some others, are forbidden, with a view to the protection of native industry. The same false principle has prompted the imposition of several very heavy import duties which are loudly complained of. The customhouse system of Tuscany is found-

ed on Leopold's tariff of 1781 ; and although the edicts of 1791, 1816, and 1833, have altered the rates, all of these changes, except the second, were reductions. In regard to the internal trade of the duchy these laws have still left many local fetters unremoved ; but as to foreign commerce there seems to be much justice in the claim which the Tuscan statesmen set up for their system, as being one whose liberality other nations ought to imitate. The Luechese tariff bears the date of 1825. Those for the Sardinian States, in 1830 and 1835, are, in respect to several important articles of foreign trade, so high as to produce a contraband traffic to a very serious extent.

The Austrian tariff, after repeated changes, was remodelled for the last time in February 1838 ; and the new scheme, although in certain particulars a decided improvement, leaves very much that is most unwisely illiberal. Besides the usual monopolies of the government, there are prohibitions on a great many articles of foreign manufacture, and very heavy duties upon others. The consequence is, the organisation of a system of smuggling, of which Trieste is a principal seat, and which is carried on with as much regularity as the lawful trade of the merchants. Our commercial treaty with Austria, concluded in 1829, which was substantially the same as the preceding conventions with Russia, France, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns, made way in July 1838 for a new treaty, in which the principle of reciprocity in regard to Austrian and British shipping, recognised in the previous agreement, receives some new applications. Those articles which regulate the trade on the Danube, and give the benefit of the compact to our own possessions in the Mediterranean, do not call for special notice in reference to our relations with the Italian provinces of Austria. But the late relaxations in our navigation laws are extended to our trade with all the Austrian dominions ; and not only are the produce and manufactures of the two powers admitted on equal terms into the ports of each, but goods which have not been produced or manufactured in the dominions of

either may be imported from Austrian harbours into those of the United Kingdom and its European possessions, on the same terms as if they were imported in English vessels. On the other hand, all English vessels and their cargoes may enter and leave Austrian harbours on the same terms as Austrian vessels.

Our treaty of September 1816 with the Two Sicilies, which placed British vessels and merchants on the same footing on which those of France and Spain were placed by Naples in the year following, enabled our ministers lately to defeat a scheme of the Neapolitan government which, if executed, would have injured their own country as much as the rest of Europe. By this treaty,—Great Britain giving up privileges allowed to her trade and shipping by four older conventions,—Naples agreed to treat our trade and merchants on the footing of the most favoured nations, and granted in respect to our goods, both native and colonial, a reduction of ten per cent. on the tariff of January 1816. The state of the sulphur trade in Sicily having excited alarm about 1836, the government were induced to listen to proposals made by Messieurs Taix and Aycard, merchants from Marseilles; and in June 1838, a contract was concluded, which was represented as calculated to restore the declining commerce of the island. It was assumed that the annual export of sulphur from Sicily amounted to 900,000 cantars (each of 175 lbs. avoirdupois), and that it would be advantageous to reduce this production by one-third. Accordingly it was declared that in future no more than 600,000 cantars should be exported annually; that Taix, Aycard, and Company, should pay a fixed indemnity to the proprietors of the sulphur-mines, for the 300,000 cantars, of which the export was to be prohibited; that they should be bound to purchase the allowed quantity from the producers at fixed prices; that the proprietors should be at liberty (for this was pompously set forth) to sell their sulphur to any other persons they pleased, but that (as conditioned by a clause smuggled in at a distance from the other) they

should in that case pay a heavy premium to Taix, Aycard, and Company, for every cantar they thus sold. The government was to undertake a certain part of the speculation, while the remainder of the capital might be given off in shares ; and the joint-stock company, of which Messieurs Taix and Aycard were thus to become the heads, was bound to pay to the exchequer 1,200,000 ducats annually during the ten years which were the term of the monopoly. The unparalleled folly and injustice involved in the principle of this extraordinary scheme is evident to every one ; the absurdity of many details were seen by all parties interested in the trade of the island ; and a strenuous resistance arose, headed by the proprietors of the mines, so far as they durst remonstrate, and by the British merchants in Sicily, whose representations were supported by their government. The advocates of the monopoly maintained, upon grounds not unpleasing, that the contract was no violation of the treaty with Great Britain ; but no argument that could bear a hearing was ever adduced in defence of the general policy of the measure. The most judicious of the Neapolitan ministers resigned rather than have any thing to do with it ; and in 1840 the king and Santangelo, his minister for home affairs, found themselves compelled, after many subterfuges, to cancel the bargain, and submit to arbitration the questions of indemnity which arose out of it.* This dispute retarded the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce which, in 1839, was in agitation between Great Britain and Naples, our government proposing to abolish the differential duties on Sicilian oils, to abandon the ten per cent. allowance, and to extend every reasonable immunity to Neapolitan vessels, on condition of receiving equivalent privileges for our own. The large reductions of duties on goods entering the Two Sicilies,

* Papers relative to the Sulphur Monopoly in Sicily ; presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty ; 1840. — Maegregor's Report on the Commercial Statistics of the Two Sicilies ; August 1840.

embraced in a new tariff which was provisionally arranged at Naples in November 1839, show that the administration of that country are themselves sensible of the impolicy involved in many of those heavy restrictions which had been complained of in the tariff of 1825. In woollens, and in colonial produce, especially sugar and coffee, the smuggling on their coasts is enormous. The suggestions which have been recently made from so many quarters as to reductions in the duties levied there, have been accompanied with advices of similar reductions in many articles of our own tariff which most materially affect our trade with Italy.

THE ITALIAN CORN-TRADE AND CORN-LAWS.

The state of the Italian corn-trade is interesting in many points of view. The foreign grain which the country imports is brought almost entirely from the Black Sea ; and the largest quantities of it enter the harbours of Genoa and Leghorn. In exchange for it, she sends to Odessa a few wines, a large supply of oil, oranges, dried fruits, sulphur, and some dyewoods. A writer of high authority, after stating that, in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the quantity of wheat consumed is, notwithstanding the free use of fruit, much larger than in the northern states of Europe, adds his opinion that the variation of productiveness in different seasons, confessedly greatest in the more southern climates, probably extends, in the regions south of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, to a range of as much as from two to one. He instances this by authentic returns of the grain sown and reaped in Sardinia in each of the ten years preceding 1827. In describing the corn-trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, he gives an outline of that of Italy and its islands, which is copied below.*

* " Sicily, though it has greatly declined from its ancient productiveness, has still a quantity of grain to spare for the less fruitful parts of Italy in most years ; and its wheat enters into competition with that of the Black Sea in the ports of Naples, Genoa, and Leghorn. There are few years in which Tuscany grows a sufficiency

For several centuries then Italy has exported no grain, and at present is continually receiving foreign supplies ; for the same period Sardinia has exported very little, and Sicily not much more. It is a curious inquiry how far the corn-laws have aided in producing this result. We possess the materials for answering the question fully, down to the time of the French revolution, and a selection of a few leading facts may be both interesting and instructive.*

of wheat ; and its chief port, Leghorn, being one of those in which ships can unload their cargoes of corn without being detained to perform quarantine, has been at all times a place of deposit for the wheat of the Black Sea. A market, at some price, may always be found there, as the capitalists are disposed to purchase ; relying on the uncertain productiveness of some adjacent country, in which they may realize a profit at no great distance. Genoa, like Leghorn, is a port where wheat can be unloaded within the bounds of the Lazaretto. The country around it yields but little wheat ; and at some periods it enjoys a trade in that article even as far as Switzerland. This internal demand, and the chance of advantageous re-exportation, induce much trade in corn. There is said to be seldom less than 100,000 quarters in store at the two ports of Genoa and Leghorn ; and at some periods a far greater quantity. Nice, though not having the same advantageous quarantine regulations, and consequently not being a dépôt for corn beyond its own demand, yet, from the steril soil which surrounds it, requires every year a large importation of wheat. The wheat of Sicily, and that of Odessa, create a competition in its port ; and the government draws a revenue by imposing a heavy duty on both. * * * Want of accounts of sufficient accuracy has caused the ports of the Adriatic to be passed over without notice. Trieste has similar quarantine regulations to Genoa and Leghorn. Some wheat is stored there, and also at Fiume, much of which is grown in Venetian Lombardy ; some is brought from the Papal States ; some is furnished from Hungary ; but there is also a regular exportation from the Black Sea for re-export."—Jacob's Tracts on the Corn Trade, 1828 ; Commerce of the Black Sea, pp. 24, 25, 27, 28, 30.

* The following notices are chiefly gathered from the writings of the Italian political economists of the eighteenth century. Scattered facts have been gleaned from the theoretical treatises of Genovesi, Galiani, Carli, D'Arco, and Paoletti ; but the history of the Italian corn-laws is most fully related in other works contained in the great Milanese collection :—Verri, *Dell' Annona*, (tom. xxiii.) and the same writer's *Economia Pubblica di Milano* (tom. xxiv.) ; Cantalupo, *Dell' Annona*, (tom. xlviij.) ; Caraccioli, *Sull' Economia e Estrazione de' Frumenti della Sicilia* (tom. xl.) ; Scrofani, *Sulla Libertà de' Grani della Sicilia*, and *Riflessioni sopra i Fatti*

The corn-laws of the municipality of Naples have been already described for a special purpose ; and their principle may be taken as that which ruled in every other Italian state,—the same terror of starvation which plagued the ancient senate of Rome, and tempted them, like their descendants, to ruin agriculture. During the last fifty years of the eighteenth century, the voices of the most philosophical Italians were incessantly heard in remonstrance ; but the system had sustained no essential change except in two provinces, when the French came to overturn all old things together. Every state had its public magazines, its restrictions to insure a supply for these, its special licenses to bakers, and obligations on them. The reader will take these things for granted, in every case where he does not see their abolition mentioned. Every state also, to a greater or less extent, had imposed fetters on the inland transport and sale of corn. Several had still in force statutes of the middle ages, which regulated the agriculture of particular districts, fixing not only the manufacture and the sale of produce, but in many instances the cropping and the rents. Laws of this kind may be passed unnoticed, because here they cannot be sufficiently illustrated ; and it is enough to name, as the worst of the class, those statutes of the Agro Romano, which were collected and published in 1718.

The agricultural polity of the Papal States presented, from the commencement of modern times, the same chaotic want of unity which characterizes the administration in every other particular. The supreme government issued many general laws and many local ones ; every section of it made laws for its own department,

osservati in Toscana (tom. xl.). Details for Sicily are also furnished by Sestini, (*Lettres sur Sicilie*, part i. lettre 13) ; and much valuable information for all the states of Italy is contained in two papers by Professor Symonds of Cambridge, in *Young's Annals of Agriculture*, vols. xiii. and xvi. 1790, 1791. See also De Souza on the Agriculture of Piedmont, in the same *Annals*, vol. xv. ; and Balsamo, *Viaggio di 1808*, p. 310-316.

some of them local and some general ; and at the seat of administration in every province there was a series of other laws, concocted on the spot, and contending for authority with those passed in Rome. The Agro Romano was treated worst of all by the legislators, though it had only the central government to prescribe to it. During four hundred years, the husbandry of the district has been subjected to a constant alteration of rules ; to an alternate erection and suppression of granaries with their privileges ; to a continual shifting of duties and impositions on inland sale, transport, and manufacture ; to a never-ending succession of proclamations, forbidding export or import, allowing them, changing the conditions of the permission, and forbidding again ; and to a consequent want of security, which was much worse than the worst system of fixed statutes. The other provinces of the state, since they received fewer laws, were consequently less injured. But the scheme of restriction on the foreign trade in corn was equally severe on them, and they were harassed by numberless prohibitions and duties on the transport of grain from one district to another. Corn exported from the state paid a fixed duty, when export was allowed, but it was generally forbidden on any terms ; the proclamations which sometimes permitted it, fixed arbitrarily the total quantity to be exported ; and the Cardinal-Chamberlain, who received the export-duties as a part of his salary, issued the licenses in lots to such persons as he pleased. Importation of foreign corn was oftener allowed than prohibited, and necessarily ; because, notwithstanding the natural fertility and comparatively good cultivation of the eastern provinces, there were and still are very few years in which the state has produced corn enough to supply itself.

The two divisions of the kingdom of Naples were subject to rules which much resembled each other. The inland trade in grain was fettered both by government duties, and by countless local monopolies, restrictions, and impositions, reducible to no fixed system. The

different towns and villages had different laws for corn and other necessaries ; some were subject to a land-tax alone, and admitted grain freely; others exacted customs; many communities had purchased rights of monopoly in provisions ; and the feudal privileges extended, on some Sicilian baronies, so far as to prohibit altogether the removal of corn from the land. The government every where levied a tax at the mill. In each province, the authorities fixed annually after harvest a current price for corn, taking the rule from Puglia, where the averages were struck after a public examination of witnesses, both agriculturists and grain merchants. These rates were not binding for sales ; but they practically gave the rule to many contracts, and the fixing of them was made the occasion of the grossest frauds. Indeed, in Sicily the averages were always necessarily false ; for at Palermo there prevailed a system of fictitious sales of grain, or rather of wagers on the rise or fall of prices, exactly resembling our English stock-jobbing. The people were not the only parties deceived by these falsehoods. After the harvest of 1763, for example, the averages struck were about par ; and the government were about to allow exports. The winter had scarcely begun when they discovered that the country was labouring under the severest dearth that had occurred during the century. On this, as on other emergencies, an arbitrary proclamation was issued, fixing a maximum price for grain, which had its natural effect of infinitely aggravating the calamity. From 1743, in both kingdoms, public storehouses were erected in every commune. For corn intended for export, there were other granaries called Caricatoj, in which the government kept the article, free of charge, for a year, taking it in and giving it out by measurement, not by weight, and gaining something by the swelling which it was found to undergo in the excavated cellars. The obligation so to lodge the grain was intended for enabling the authorities to judge as to the expediency of export, which, when allowed, paid a fixed duty. Ferdinand remitted that duty to

exporters of Sicilian corn in native vessels. But for the continental provinces, the general rule in last century was the absolute prohibition of export. In Sicily, the rule varied. Most frequently export was permitted when the public granaries contained provision for eighteen months ; at other times the viceroy allowed at discretion the exportation of a determined quantity. In the island, the agriculturists received, from a national bank, loans at five, six, or seven per cent., on the security of grain deposited. The result of the whole system was lamentable. Naples scarcely ever exported any corn : Sicily, the granary of Rome, furnished, in good seasons, in the middle of the eighteenth century, less than 500,000 English quarters. During the whole period, the impolicy of the scheme was shown by the large profits made on olives, which could always be exported without duty ; and by the great inland sale of wines, which, in most districts, were only subject to an assize when retailed. About 1789 the restrictions on exportation were to some extent alleviated.

Tuscany, in regard to the internal inequalities and burdens, was, at the accession of Leopold, nearly in the same situation as Naples and Sicily ; for the little republics, on submitting to Florence, had retained these with their other local statutes. In 1766 the grand duke began to make alterations. He bought up the municipal privileges and abolished them. He annulled all obligations on the bakers, retaining indeed, from the first, little beyond the assize on bread and the public warehouses. He permitted the sale of grain by samples, which was prohibited every where in Italy, except in the provinces of his brother. In 1767 he passed a law allowing exportation of corn from the Maremma at all times, and from the other districts when the market-price was under a certain sum ; while importation was allowed when the price exceeded a limit slightly higher. When export was lawful, it was subject to no duty. The public storehouses were shut up, and the people left to depend on their own exertions. In 1775, both import and export were made totally free and untaxed. It is said that

in the very next season the corn-lands had increased in extent by two-fifths.

But the Austrian reformer's laws did not last two years after he left Tuscany. The public granaries were reintroduced all over the duchy early in 1792, and brought with them the old restrictions on exportation. A measure yet worse was an absurd law prohibiting the intervention of any merchant, or intermediate person between the producer and the consumer, a small number of dealers being alone excepted. The *Barulli*, or waggoners, a numerous and industrious class of small corn-dealers, were at once thrown out of employment; the capital of the more extensive merchants was made useless; and the privileged factors eagerly used their monopoly. Wages fell; the price of corn rose; the people clamoured against the landholders, and charged them with combining, to keep the grain out of market; and, in August 1794, a large number of Tuscan proprietors sold their produce at a heavy loss, to save it from being pillaged.

In the Milanese there prevailed, till 1769, a set of corn-laws, chiefly introduced by the Spaniards, and highly worthy of notice for their deliberate folly. The state was divided into thirteen districts; and the law prohibited, under the penalty of confiscation of the property, transport from one district to another. Forestallers were threatened in repeated proclamations down to 1749; and the landholders were obliged annually to declare the quantity of grain harvested, under penalties which included, at the discretion of the Spanish judge, corporal punishment, and transportation to the galleys. From 1593 they were also obliged, in every district, to introduce certain quantities of grain into the cities for the public magazines. Besides exports allowed by certain treaties to a fixed amount, the government at discretion permitted the exportation of other quantities by special license. Exportation without license was punishable with death. Joseph swept away the whole of this rubbish at a blow, allowing export in most seasons without

payment of any duty, and prohibiting all local imposts and exemptions, but retaining, as he did in so many other matters, a petty Austrian jealousy of inspection, which was both annoying and inconvenient.

The Venetian corn-laws had two marked features. A professed liberality in the terms of the statutes, was coupled with a permission to the Board of Corn at Venice, or the governors in the provinces, to refuse execution to their enactments whenever they saw meet; and a studied encouragement was given to the provincials to restrict or prohibit altogether the importation from one province into another. The republic of Genoa, for many years before its fall, was chiefly remarkable for the contrast between its restrictions on the inland trade in corn, and the liberality with which it allowed those imports from abroad which were necessary to supply its territory nine months in every year. Corn passing from one district to another, paid the same duties as if it had been imported from a foreign country.

It remains only to glance at the present state of the corn-laws in the principal Italian sovereignties. The accessible information is scanty, and in some respects perhaps erroneous; but service is done even by indicating to other inquirers the points which specially call for investigation.

The government of the Two Sicilies continues to prohibit or allow the export of corn at discretion; and the last measure which we have happened to observe was an ordinance forbidding all export from Naples or Sicily after the 1st of December 1838. However, when exportation is permitted, the grain pays no duty, if it be carried in native vessels. In the internal trade, many of the old local burdens and restrictions continue: in Sicily, in 1814, the administration of the granaries was merely taken from the old royal board, and given to the local municipalities. In the Papal State the restored government brought back with it all the ancient misconceptions as to the internal trade in corn. The foreign

intercourse is at present regulated by a graduated scale, dependent on the market prices. When the rubbio (640 lbs.) of wheat costs less than 14 crowns on the Mediterranean coast, or 12 on the Adriatic, or when the same quantity of flour costs less than 16 crowns on the former coast, or 14 on the latter, the import is prohibited and the export is free. When the same quantity of wheat costs 16 crowns on the Mediterranean shore, or 14 on the Adriatic, or when the flour costs 18 crowns on the one shore or 16 on the other, the import is free, the export prohibited. Between these limits of price, both export and import are allowed, upon payment of fixed duties. In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, it is believed that Joseph's free policy subsists in most of its parts; but the country, strange to say, requires almost every year a supply of foreign grain. In Tuscany, since the Restoration, Leopold's liberal schemes have been reintroduced ; and the government has uniformly resisted all attempts to obtain a prohibition against the importation of foreign corn. In the Sardinian States, exportation is allowed when the market-price is below a certain sum, and importation when the price is above another sum, which is one-third of the former. These rates are determined from averages published by the government, quarterly or oftener. In Sardinia, corn-banks, like the Sicilian, have subsisted since the year 1767.

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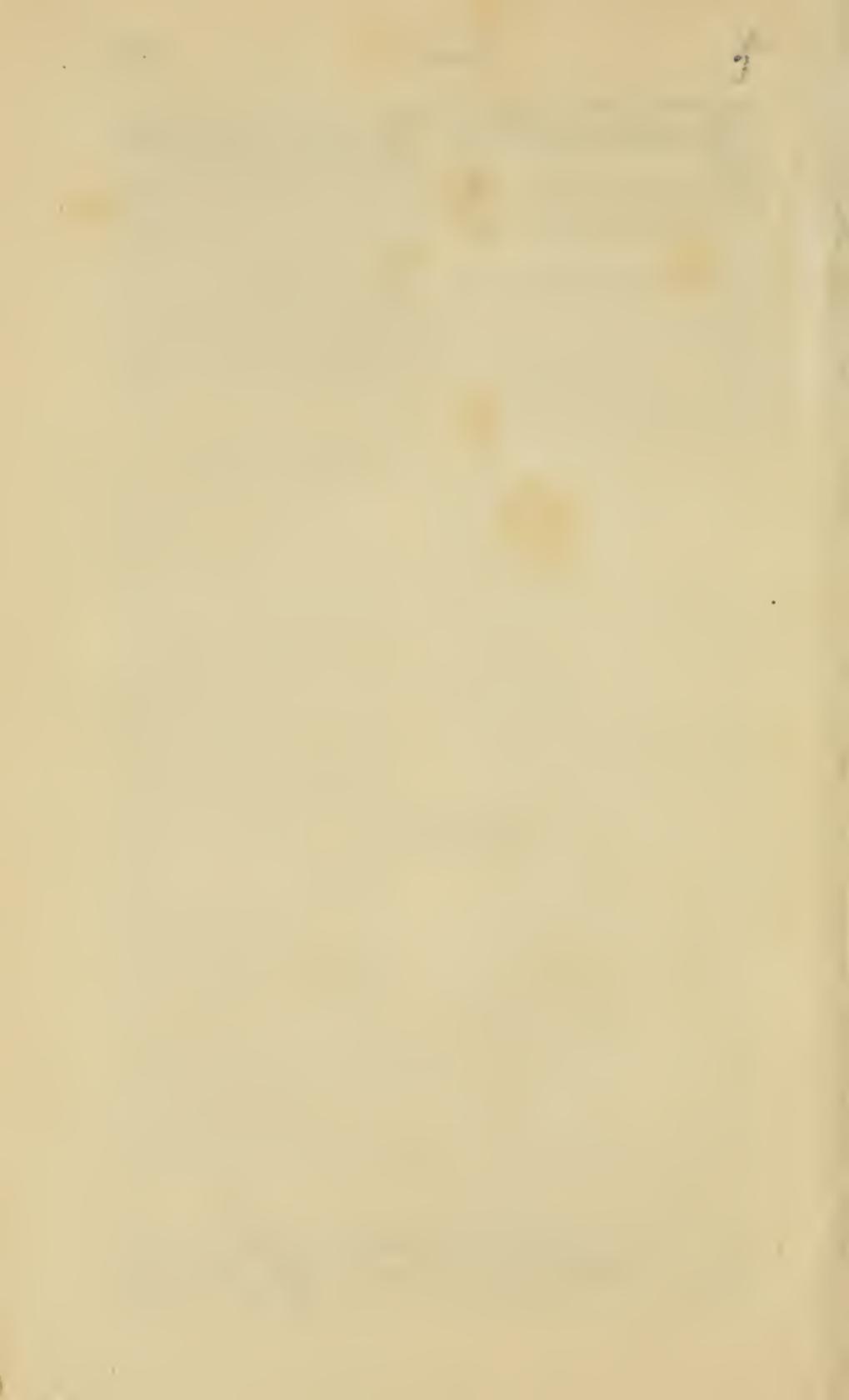
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